EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRA COUNTRY

BY

Dr. K. GOPALACHARI, M.A., Ph.D.



UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

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FOREWORD

Dr. K. Gopalachari's book comprises the results of the research he carried on in this department in the years 1934-36. The subject of his study, *The Early History of the Andhra Country*, is well known in its outline but is full of many little problems in epigraphy and archaeology that need elucidation. Dr. Gopalachari's thesis does not claim in any way to revolutionise our interpretation of the history of the period; its value consists in a large number of detailed suggestions confirming results now generally accepted by stronger arguments or bringing forward fresh points of view. Parts of the thesis may be found therefore highly technical and possibly of little interest to the general reader; but there is much in the thesis not merely in the selection of facts but also in their elucidation and presentation that I hope will be recognised to be of permanent value to all historians of India.

I have great pleasure in tendering on behalf of Dr. Gopalachari and myself our sincere thanks to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for their sanctioning the inclusion of the work in the Departmental series.

University Buildings,
Triplicane, Madras,
15th Sept. 1941.

K. A. N

PREFACE

This book represents my work as a research scholar in the Department of Indian History in the University of Madras from 1934 to 1936. It is an attempt to present a connected history of the Āndhras and the Āndhra country from the earliest times to the advent of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins had to be brought into the picture as they close the epoch. A full account of the dynasty would have involved a study of the many contemporary dynasties and increased the bulk of the volume. So the last chapter is a compromise, a treatment of the skirts and fringes of the subject.

The first five chapters traverse a field covered long ago by great scholars like Prof. Rapson, R. G. Bhandarkar and Bhagawanlal Indraji and unruffled by starting discoveries. This has saved me from pioneering work; but I have had the difficult task of challenging great names and accepted conclusions. An independent study of inscriptions and monuments *in situ* has necessitated my doing so in some cases. Palaeography and the discovery of a few coins like the Āpīlaka coin and the silver coin of Vāsiṭhīputa Satakaṇi have enabled me to reconstruct Āndhra and Kṣatrapa chronology on less insecure foundations and question Rapson's identification of Puḷumāvi with the son-in-law of Rudradāman. The much neglected social, economic and cultural conditions of the period, upon which a flood of light is thrown by inscriptions and Buddhist remains, have been dealt with at length. One of the conclusions which should not be lost sight of is that the Sātavāhanas were Āndhras but began their political career in Western Deccan.

The second period in Andhra history beginning with the Ikṣvākus, one of many short-lived dynasties, is a comparatively unexplored field. The evidence is also scanty. I have built up the chronological scheme with the help of palaeography. A fuller chapter on the Ikṣvākus than anything written before, the date of

the Bṛhatphalāyanas, Kandara and Vaingeyaka genealogy and chronology are some of the contributions to the subject. D. C. Sircar's monograph on *The Successors of the Sātavahanas* in Eastern Deccan was published while I was writing my thesis. I am indebted to him only for the Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy, but even here I have modified his conclusions with the help of palaeography.

The Akola hoard of Sātavāhana coins discovered in 1939 does not necessitate a modification or abandonment of the conclusions reached in the thesis.

Some of the epigraphical notes in the thesis have been published in Vol. XXIV No. 6 of *Epigraphia Indica.*

My task of reading the Allūru inscription has been greatly facilitated by the article of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu waiting for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica.* The manuscript was with me when I was reading the inscription. Readings like 'ailasa' and 'vadālābhikaro', to mention only a few and the translations of a few words I owe to the article. I am indebted to Prof. V. V. Mirashi of Nagpur for promptly supplying me a copy of the photograph of the coins of the Akola hoard mentioned above as also his readings.

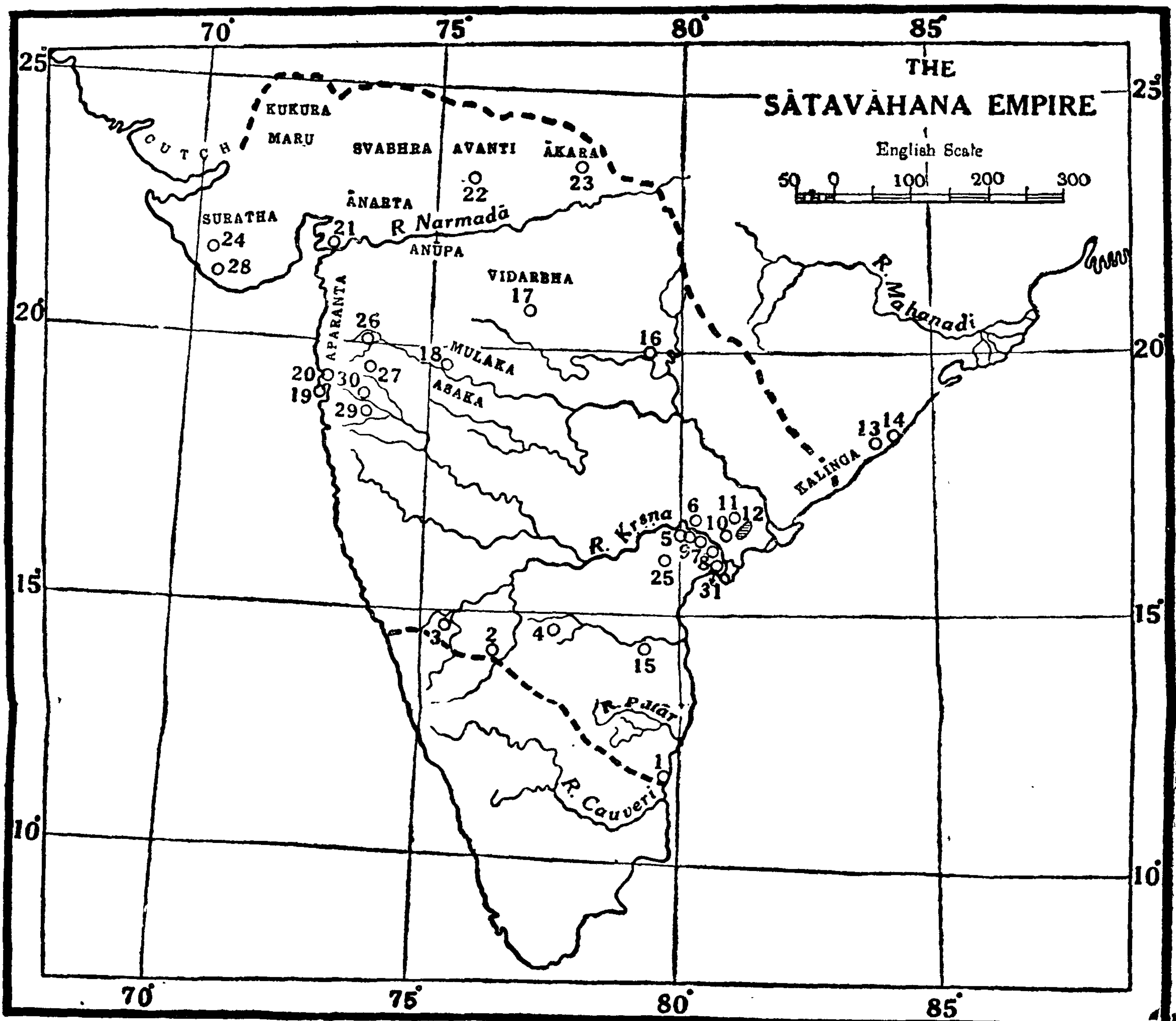
Professor K. A. Nilkanta Sastri has more than guided me in my work. Discussions with him have led me to new lines of approach and new conclusions. Apart from specific suggestions, I owe to him in no small measure the habit of minute attention to details and of exactitude.

K. G.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EI	:	Epigraphia Indica
EC	:	Epigraphia Carnatica
IA	:	Indian Antiquary
JA	:	Journal Asiatique
ASWI	:	Archaeological Survey of Western India
ASSI	:	Archaeological Survey of Southern India
CTI	:	Cave Temples of Western India — Burgess and Indraji
JRAS	:	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBBRAS	:	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JBORS	:	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
JASB	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
YB of the AS of B	:	Year-Book of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
CAI	:	Coins of Ancient India, Cunningham
CSI	:	Coins of Southern India, Elliot
ZDMG	:	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft
CIC	:	Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum
ARE	:	Annual Report on Epigraphy (Madras)
ASR	:	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report
BG	:	Bombay Gazetteer
ABRI	;	Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute
SBE	:	Sacred Books of the East
ABIA	:	Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology
M. BH	:	Mahabharata
IHQ	:	Indian Historical Quarterly
TSW	:	Tree and Serpent Worship
AGI	:	Ancient Geography of India, Cunningham

GOS	:	Gaekwad's Oriental Series
Mt	:	Matsya
Vā	:	Vayu
Bḍ	:	Brahmāṇḍa
Viṣ	:	Viṣṇu
CII	:	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
ERE	:	Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Hastings
JOR	:	Journal of Oriental Research
GI	:	Gupta Inscriptions



BOUNDARIES OF THE SĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE MARKED THUS—

1. Cuddalore.
2. Chitaldoorg.
3. Banavāsī.
4. Anantapur.
5. Dhānyakataka.
6. Nandigama.
7. Guntur.
8. Tenali.
9. Amaravati.
10. Gudivada.
11. Ellore.
12. Kollair Lake
13. Chicacole.
14. Kalingapatam.
15. Cuddappah.
16. Chanda.
17. Akola.
18. Patiṭhara.
19. Bombay.
20. Supāra.
21. Bharukaccha.
22. Ujjeni.
23. Vidisā.
24. Girnār.
25. Vinukoṇḍa.
26. Nasik (Govadhana)
27. Junnar.
28. Prabhāsa.
29. Māmāla.
30. Kārla.
31. Bhathiproḷu.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The following pages represent an attempt to trace the fortunes, political, social and religious, of the Āndhras, a people whose hoary antiquity is attested by pieces of evidence, literary, epigraphic and numismatic. The period covered is that from the earliest times to the advent of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. Politically, socially and culturally the Dravidian Āndhras (condemned sons of Viśvāmitra) proved a tremendous success. Once their empire extended from sea to sea. The Amarāvatī art is the most eloquent testimony to the cultural achievements of the race. The activities, maritime and colonial, of the people read like romance. No ancient tribe has on record such a unique achievement in all branches.

Āndhras as a people are mentioned as early as the fifth century B. C. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of them as the exiled sons of Viśvāmitra, as non-Aryans evidently.[1] The *Jātakas* speak of an *Andhakapura* and Āndhra country.[2] The inscriptions of Asoka mention Āndhras along with Pulindas as border peoples.[3] The *Saptaśatakam* speaks of Pulindas.[4] The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* speak of Āndhras along with Coḷas, Ceras and Pāṇḍyas.[5] The Purāṇas speak of the *Āndhrajātīyas.*[6] They enjoyed the same political status as Kāmbojas, Yavanas, and Gāndhāras in the north. It will thus be seen that the earliest references to the Āndhra are to people or tribe and not to their country. The reference to their country occurs first in the Mayidavōlu inscription

1. VII, 8.
2. *The Jātakas,* Cowell and Thomas,
   Āndhra Country, I, No. 80, p. 203.
   Āndhra city, *ibid.*, I, 12.
   Andhakas, *ibid*,, V. pp. 10 and 138.
3. RE, XIII.
4. Weber, *Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla.*
5. M. Bh., *Sabhāparvan,* XXXI; *Rāmāyana,* iv, 41.
6. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.*

of Śiva-Skandavarman (4th century) in which Dhaṁñakaṭaka is spoken of as the headquarters of the Pallava province *Aṁdhāpatha* (*Āndhrāpatha*). It is therefore clear that the country derived its name from the people, an instance with many parallels in Indian History. The name *Āndhradeśa* found in literature is also evidence in the same direction. In the 5th and 6th centuries, the Pallava province conquered from the Vaiṅgeyakas, came to be called *Veṅgorāṣṭra.*[7] It is very probable that during the Vaiṅgeyaka period *Āndhradeśa* got the name *Veṅgideśa*, or *Veṅgināḍu*, or *Veṅgimaṇḍalam* by which it was commonly known during the period of the Eastern Cāḷukyas. The Āndhras are spoken of as *Vaḍugar* (Tamil), and their country *Vaḍugavaḷi* (northerners and the country of the northerners). But the name Āndhra lived through all these changes. Āndhra people are spoken of in the Chezarla inscription of Kandara's grandson. The inscriptions of the Maukhari kings Īśvaravarman and Īśānavarman speak of *Āndhrādhipati.*[8] An inscription of the Vākāṭaka king Harisena speaks of his conquest of the Kaliṅga and Āndhra countries.[9] An inscription of the 14th century speaks of the *Āndhradeśa.*

To-day, *Āndhradeśa* is a linguistic and cultural unity. It may be noted, that from the earliest times the Āndhras were an entity, ethnical and cultural. Megasthenes says that the Āndhras were a separate race.[10] The Bhaṭṭiprōlu alphabet, the Vengī alphabet as Burnell would call it, and the Telugu-Canarese script were evolved in the *Āndhradeśa.* And the Kṛṣṇā Prākṛt of our period, of which we know something, has peculiarities which we do not find elsewhere.[11] To-day the Āndhras speak Telugu and during the Middle Ages their country was known as Teliṅgāṇa.

The extent of the *Āndhradeśa* of our period is not however easy of determination. As Asoka's inscriptions speak of the

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7. Māṅgalūr grant, IA, Vol. V.
8. CII, Vol. III, 6, 230.
   Haraha Inscription, *EI.*, XIV, 120.
9. JRAS, 1914, p. 137.
10. IA, Vol. VI, p. 339.
11. See Chap. II.

Āndhras and the Kaliṅga country, and as under Khāravela Kaliṅga was a first-rate power, the *Āndhradeśa* of our study was in the north limited by Kaliṅga. Since Ptolemy's Maisolia and *Periplus'* Masalia refer to the Āndhra country, the remark that Masalia extended far into the interior, shows that not only the seaboard between the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā, but also a considerable area in the interior was included in the *Āndhradeśa*. In the south, *Āndhradeśa* did not extend far beyond the northern part of the modern Nellore District. For the Mayidavolu *Aṁdhāpatha* which refers to the region around Dhaṁñakaṭaka was limited by *Karmarāṣṭra*.[12] No doubt under the Sātavāhanas the Āndhra Empire extended from sea to sea, and from the Central Provinces in the north to Cuddalore in the south and Mysore in the south-west.[13] An inscription of Caḍa Sāti is found in Koḍavali near Piṭhāpuram; and some of the dynasties that succeeded the Sātavāhanas would seem to have annexed parts of Kaliṅga if only for a time. In the Śrīraṅgam plates dated A. D. 1358[14] it is said that the Tiliṅga country is bounded in the north by Kanyākubja, on the west by Mahārāṣṭra, on the east by Kaliṅga, on the south by Pāṇḍyaka. The description of the *Āndhradeśa* is certainly reminiscent of the old empire of the Sātavāhanas. But the *Āndhradeśa* of our period is clearly only the territory bounded on the north by Kaliṅga, on the south by the southern part of the Nellore Dt., and extending from the coast far into the mainland in the west.

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12. Chapter on Kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra*.

13. Coins of Puḷumāvi II bearing the device of ship with masts are found on the Coromandel Coast as far south as Cuddalore.

14. *Paścāt Purastādapi yasya deśau Khyātau Mahārāṣṭra-Kaliṅga-Saṁjñau |*
Avāgudak Pāṇḍyaka-Kanyakubjau deśas sa tatrāsti Tiliṅganāmā ||
—EI., Vol. XIV, p. 90

CHAPTER II

ORIGINS OF SĀTAVĀHANA POWER

Materials for a study of Sātavāhana history

It is some decades since some Prākṛt inscriptions in Brāhmī characters of a line of kings called Sātavahānas in lithic records and in literature, and Āndhras (*Āndhrajātīyaḥ*) in the Purāṇic genealogies, were discovered. The first publication of their western inscriptions goes back to volume VII of the J. B. B. R. A. S. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar was the first to translate them in his 'Notices' published in the Transactions of the London Congress of Orientalists (1874) pp. 306 ff. Bühler [1] and Bhagvanlal Indraji [2] improved upon Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's readings and interpretations; in 1906 the French savant, Emile Senart, gave not merely a modest gloss in the wake of his predecessors' learned interpretations but a scholarly edition of the inscriptions.[3] The five short but important Sātavāhana records from the eastern Deccan have been edited by Bühler,[4] Burgess,[5] Sten Konow [6] and Sukthankar.[7] Thanks to exceptionally skilled numismatists like General Cunningham, F.W. Thomas, Prof. Rapson, Bhagvanlal Indraji and the Rev. H. R. Scott, we have as much information as could be extracted from the Sātavāhana and Kṣatrapa coins. The Purāṇic material has been carefully studied and diligently collected by F. E. Pargiter in his "Dynasties of the Kali Age", though his conclusions on the history of Purāṇa literature have been questioned often.

Still it is true to say that the historian's task is made difficult by the paucity of material. A great part of the Sātavāhana

1. ASWI, Vols. IV and V.
2. BG, Vol. XVI.
3. EI, Vols. VII and VIII
4. EI, Vol. I, pp. 95, 96.
5. ASSI, Vol. I, pp. 61, 100.
6. ZDMG, Vol. LXII, p. 592.
7. EI, Vol. VIV, pp. 153-55.

dominions remains unexplored. Recently the archaeological department of Hyderabad have begun excavations at Paithān. Only a hoard of Sātavāhana coins has come to light so far. Twenty-four inscriptions (some of which are very short) for a line of 30 kings, who held sway over the greater part of the peninsula for more than three hundred years, are a disappointing number. A long historical night envelops kings Nos. 4 to 22 [8] in the Purāṇic list. Prior to the discovery of the Jogalthembi hoard, we had no coins which could with certainty be attributed to Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi. The Purāṇas do not tell us much. Neither does the *Bṛhatkathā* which, according to tradition, was written in the court of a Sātavāhana king, nor the *Saptaśatakam*, an anthology of erotic verses attributed to Hāla (Sātakaṇi), nor even *Līlāvatī*, a Prākṛt work [9] the theme of which is the military transactions of Hāla's reign, offer many peep-holes into the dark period. In short, the historian has still to call to aid his imagination to forge some of the missing links. His enterprise even now is not unlike that of adding piece by piece to the ends of the two arms of a cantilever bridge intended to meet at the centre; the ends of the two structures are still, for all we know, facing each other in the air. Until they have met and been firmly and finally riveted they cannot offer a safe passage.

The old theory

Scholars who were assiduously collecting every scrap of information on the Sātavāhana period found that the names gleaned from inscriptions and coins as well as their order agreed with those in the Purāṇic genealogies; and they straightaway identified the Sātavāhanas of the epigraphic and numismatic records with the Āndhras of the Purāṇas. The home of the Āndhras was the next question to be tackled. The early references [10] to the Āndhras and their country enabled them to fix the habitat of this people in the country, the heart of which roughly comprised the present

8. Recently, however, a copper coin of siva Siri-Āpīlaka No. 8 in the Matsya list has been discovered in the Central Provinces.

9. Recently brought to light by Mr. M. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi, *Bhāratī* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 3 *ff*.

10. *Vide supara.*

Godāvari, Kṛṣṇa and Guṇṭūr districts. Scholars like Prof. Rapson, V. A. Smith and Dr. Bhandarkar found no difficulty in building on these postulates the theory of an eastern origin of Sātavāhana power, i.e., in the *Āndhradeśa*;[11] while V. A. Smith located the Sātavāhana capital at Śrī-Kākuḷam, Dr. Bhandarkar saw it in Dhaṁñakaṭaka.[12]

Epigraphic, numismatic and literary evidence against it

A careful revaluation of the materials, epigraphic, numismatic and literary, would throw in high relief the objections to the orthodox theory of the expansion of Sātavāhana power from the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvari valleys to western Deccan. It is of course hard to break the cake of old theories. Except for a dissentient note here and there[13] nothing was done to disprove the old theory till the year 1922 when Sukthankar took up the question.[14] His spirited attack on the old theory, only marred by an erroneous theory of the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas and absence of a sound constructive side, does not seem to have gained the approval of later writers.

An inscription over a *relievo* figure, mentioning the founder of the dynasty (Rāya Simuka), an inscription of the reign of Kaṇha (Kṛṣṇa), his brother, and an inscription of queen Nāyanikā, the widow of Siri-Sātakaṇi, son of Simuka, come from Nāṇeghāṭ and Nāsik in the western Deccan. The Amarāvatī *Stūpa* has yielded many inscriptions some of which, on palaeographical grounds, can be ascribed to the 3rd century B.C.[15] some others to the 2nd or 1st century B.C.[16] and still others to the 1st century A.D.[17] The silence of these inscriptions about not only Simuka, Kaṇha and

11. ZDMG, 1902 p. 657; CIC, *Andhras, and Western Kṣatrapas*, etc., xvi and xvii.

12. *Vide infra.*

13. IA, 1913, pp. 281 *ff.*

14. ABORI, ii, pp. 21 *ff.*

15. EI, Vol. XV, *Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions, Nos.* 4, 5, 6, 9, 10 and 19, and ASSI, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 101.

16. EI, Vol. XV, *ibid.*, 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18.

17. *Ibid.*, Nos. 25, 29, 33, 36, 40, 42, 43 and 44.

Siri-Sātakaṇi, I, but also other early Sātavahanas, put by the side of the mention of two Sātavāhana kings of the 2nd century A.D. in two inscriptions,[18] tells its own simple story. One would expect the long record of queen Nāyanikā recording the numerous sacrifices performed during the minority of her son to be very near the capital and not in a place on the farthest limits of the empire, which would be the case if the theory of an eastern capital is correct. It may be noted that Nāṇeghāt is only 120 miles, as the crow flies, from Pratiṣṭhāna, the capital according to tradition, of the early Sātavāhanas.[19] The Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions, 'probably only a few decades later than Asoka's edicts', mention a king Khubirako and his father Ṣa—.[20] *Āndhradeśa* would, therefore, seem to have been ruled by a different line in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. A coin from the *Āndhradeśa* bearing the legends (— — —) B (i) ra or (— — —) Vira is corroborative evidence pointing in the same direction.[21] True, inscriptions of kings Nos. 4 to 22 are not found either in the western Deccan or in the *Āndhradeśa*. Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's three inscriptions come from Nāsik and Kārlā. The Nāsik record of Gotamī Balasirī recounting her son's political achievements, and describing his empire, makes no reference to the *Āndhradeśa*.[22] Only records engraved during the reigns of Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi, son of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, and some of his successors, i.e., during the latter half of the second century and the first quarter of the third century A.D., come from the *Āndhradeśa* and Kaliṅga. Of the 24 records of these kings, 8 come from Nāsik, 5 from Kaṇhēri, three from Kārlā, one from Bhilsā, two from Nāṇeghāṭ (besides there are 5 short ones over

18. ASSI, Vol. I, p. 100, No. 1 and p. 61, No. 2.

19. Nāṇeghāṭ (Ghāṭghar) is a pass in the Western Ghats which was in the direct line of communication from inland market-towns like Pratiṣṭhāna and Tagara to the western ports like Kalyāṇ, Barygaza, etc.

20. EI, Vol. II, p. 328, vi; p. 329 ix.

21. *Vide Infra.*

22. Scholars like Dr. Bhandarkar have made attempts to identify some mountains and countries mentioned in that record with those in the eastern Deccan. Prof. Rapson is of opinion that the record only mentions Gotamīputa's conquests. For a discussion of these views, *vide infra.*

relievo figures), one from Myākadoni, one from Cinna Ganjam, two from Amarāvati and one from Koḍavali.[23]

The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, king of Kaliṅga[24] and a contemporary of the third or fifth king in the Sātavāhana line, throws some welcome light on the question. In the inscription Khāravela is said to have destroyed the city of Pithuṁḍa in the eleventh year.[25] In the next line an expedition against the kings of *Uttarāpatha* in the twelfth year is spoken of. We must, therefore, look for the city elsewhere than in the North. The East is likewise excluded for the sea lies on that side. Since the destruction of Pithuṁḍa and the breaking up of 'the confederacy of the T (r) amira (Damira or Tamil) countries of 113 years' are spoken of in the same breath and achieved in the same year, the South has greater claims than the West. Sylvain Lévi has shown that the Pitundra of Ptolemy is a Greek transliteration of the Indian Pithuṁḍa. He says—"Ptolemy places Pitundra in the hinterland, between the mouths of the Maisolos and the Manadas, or in other words, between the deltas of the Godāvari and Mahānadi, at an equal distance from both. We must, therefore, look for the site of the city between Chicacole and Kalingapatam, if Ptolemy's information approximates to the truth."[26] We cannot very much rely on Ptolemy's information here, as he has erred in placing to the south-east of the mouth of the Maisôlos a great peninsula which, however, existed only in his imagination.[27] We have, moreover, to say with Yule that Maisôlos is the Kṛṣṇā and not the Godāvari as Lassen and Sylvain Lévi would have it. Ptolemy places a Kantakossula near (latitude 134°30′ longitude 11°40′) and a Koddura not far away from (latitude 135° longitude 11°30′) the mouth of the Maisôlos (latitude 134° longitude 11°40′).[28] Koddura

23. Luders *List of Brāhmī Inscr.*, Nos. 346, 987, 994, 1001, 1002, 1024, 1105, 1106, 1110, 1112, 1122 to 1126, 1141, 1146 and 1147.

24. EI, Vol. XX, pp. 71–89.

25. *Pithuṁḍam gadabha naṁgalena kāsayati, ibid., p.* 79, t. l. 11.

26. IA, LV, pp. 146–47.

27. Map appended to McCrindle's translation of *Ptolemy's Geography*, IA, Vol. XIII, facing p. 353.

28. *Ibid.*, p, 333 (*Ptolemy's Georgraphy*, Book VII, Chap. I. Sec. 15).

has been identified with the modern Gūḍūr in the Bandar taluq of the Kṛṣṇā district.[29] Kantakossula is the Kaṇṭakasila of a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of the time of the Ikṣvāku Virapurisadata,[30] and Koddura is the Kūdūra of an Amarāvati inscription of the second century A.D.[31] They were, therefore, nearer to the Kṛṣṇā than to the Godāvarī. It is possible to get a better clue. Ptolemy places Koroungkala (identified with the modern Warangal) in longitude 15° and more in the interior than Pitundra. Warangal is placed 3°20′ degrees and Pitundra 5/6th of a degree north of the mouth of the Maisôlos (11′40°).[32] Warangal is in the Godāvari-Kṛṣṇā region (south of the Godāvari). Pitundra has, therefore, to be sought for in the *Āndhradeśa* and not in Khāravela's Kaliṅga. The reference to the destruction of Pithuṁḍa along with the reference to the breaking up of the confederacy of Tamil powers is corroborative evidence in the same direction.[33] In such a case the destruction of Pithuṁḍa (probably then, as in Ptolemy's days, the metropolis of the Āndhra country)[34] by Khāravela would have evoked immediate and tremendous hostilities (or would have been a result of such hostilities) between him and his Sātavāhana contemporary, if really the early Sātavāhanas had been ruling over the *Āndhradeśa*.[35] If such a conflict with 'the Lord of the Deccan'

29. Jouveau—Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 85.
30. EI. XX, p. 22, Ins., F. t. l. 3.
31. Lüders, *op. cit.*, No. 1295.
32. *Op. cit.*, Bk. VII. Sec. 93.
33. The fact that the destruction of the city is spoken of along with his wars with the northern and southern powers makes it least probable that the city was within the kingdom of Kaliṅga.
34. In line 11 (*EI*, Vol. XX, p. 79) K. P. Jayaswal reads '*ava rāja nivesitam Pithuṁḍaṁ*' for '*puva rāja* etc.,' his earlier reading. (Pithumḍa built by a former king). While the upper and lower limbs of the usual *a* of the inscription are not connected with each other, in the letter read as *a*, they are connected with each other even if the crease on the stone can be taken to represent the lower curve. The curve taken as the upper limb is usually big. The letter may, therefore, be more correctly read as *pu*.
35. It is also highly improbable that the *Āndhradeśa* escaped the widely thrown net of Khāravela's expeditions.

had taken place, Khāravela would not have failed to make mention of it in an inscription which speaks of his wars with the northern kings, southern confederacies and western powers. The silence of the Hāthīgumphā inscription on this matter is, therefore, conclusive proof that the early Sātavāhanas were not ruling over the land of their birth in the third and second centuries B.C.

The association of the early Sātavāhanas with the *Mahārathis*, a class of officers who are mentioned in the western cave inscriptions only, is another piece of evidence that supports our conclusion. Queen Nāyanikā, wife of Siri-Sātakani the third king of the dynasty, is the daughter of the *Mahārathi* Tranakayiro of the Aṅgiya family.

Numismatics tells the same story. The earliest known coins of the dynasty are two pieces, one of copper and the other of lead, bearing the legend '*Siri-Sātasa.*' Considering the angular *ta*, the absence of the *mātrā* over *ra* and the early form of *sa*, Rapson attributes these coins to Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Nāṇeghāt inscriptions.[36] But the nailed heads of the *sa* of the copper coin make its attribution to a later king, perhaps No. 5 in the Matsya list, reasonable.[37] These coins were picked up in western India with which they are connected by their Malwa fabric, i.e., the Ujjain symbol, the standing man, the representation of a river with fishes swimming in it, which reminds us of the representation of river Bīṇa on the coins of Erān.[38] From western India came 8 coins bearing the legends (partly or fully) '*Raño Sātakaṁṇisa.*' The alphabetical characters of the legends seem to be later than those of the Sāta coins, but the elongated instead of the squat and rounded form of *ta* on all the three coins, makes a very long interval impossible.

Prof. Rapson brings into the list of early Sātavāhana coins. three coins coming from the *Āndhradeśa*; according to him two

36. CIC, *Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas*, & c., p. 1.

37. The copper coin differs from the lead coin also in the representation of a man standing.

38. Cunningham, CAI, p. 100.

of them bear the legends '(*Ra*) *ño* (— —) *Vira*' and one, the legend [(*gha*)] *Sadasa*.[39] The former are exceptionally large *siṁha* coins "found in a deserted site at the village of Chittala, in the Yernagudem Talook of the Godāvarī District."[40] V. A. Smith attributed them provisionally to Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi (second century A.D.).[41] True, the incomplete and indistinct nature of the legends makes it impossible for us to rely on their palaeography for their date, but according to Rapson, their early date seems to be indicated by the fact that they are struck on one side only. We do not possess *siṁha* coins of Siri-Yaña.[42] It is doubtful whether these coins were issued by any member of the Sātavāhana dynasty. We have come across neither Sātavāhana names ending in 'vira' or 'bira,' nor such unusually big Sātavāhana coins. The letter read as *vi* may well be read as *b* (*i*) or *b* (*e*). 'Vira' or 'bira' strongly reminds us of king Khubiraka of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions.[43] Significantly enough he is there called the head of the Siṁha group (*Ṣīhagoṭhiyā pāmukho*). On the coins the term '*raño*' comes after the personal name. It does not do so on other coins while in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions 'rāja' comes after Khubirako.[44] The striker of these coins might presumably have belonged to this line of kings of the *Āndhradeśa*. But the distance between Bhaṭṭiprōlu and the findspot of the coin casts some doubt on this identification.

On the strength of the early form of *da* and the incomplete legend read as [(*gha*)] *Sadasa*, Rapson attributes the third coin

39. *Op. cit.*, pp. 2, 28.

40. Sir Walter Elliot, CSI, 23 *n*.

41. ZDMG, 1903, p. 625.

42. On the other hand, Lion coins of Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi and Māḍharīputa Sakasena, have been picked up in the *Āndhradeśa*. A small signet of *lapis lazuli* discovered among the Buddhist remains of Amarāvatī has on it the representation of a lion with open mouth and raised left fore-leg together with the legend '*bhūtisa*' written in Brāhmī characters of the 3rd century B. C. The lion would, therefore, seem to have been of Buddhist origin.—ASR, 1905–06, p. 166.

43. EI, Vol II, pp. 328, vi: 329, ix.

44. *Op. cit.*

to Meghasvāti (Megha Sātakarṇi), ninth in the Matsya list (2nd or 1st century B.C.).[45] As the coin contains neither the full legends nor the upper part of the first letter, we cannot be quite sure of Prof. Rapson's reading. The letter read as *gha* by Rapson might very well be read as *na*; what appears as a vertical to the proper right is a scratch (compared to the central vertical), and does not start from the end of the horizontal. We might reconstruct the legend thus: (*Ra*) *n* (*o*) *Sadasa.*[46] In inscriptions Sada alternates with Sāta; and Sāta, Sāti and Saḍa (?) are abbreviations of Sātakaṇi (the Sanskrit form corresponding to it is Sātakarṇi). The striker of this coin might therefore have been any one of the numerous Sātakarṇis in the Purāṇic list. So far as epigraphical evidence alone is concerned, the coin may be ascribed to a period as late as the first century A.D., for *da* open to the left occurs in some of the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and some epigraphs from Amarāvati which, on palaeographical considerations, have been assigned to the first century B.C. or A.D.[47]

It will do well to bear in mind the remark of Bühler that "the contemporaneous employment of more advanced types and of more archaic ones.........will have to be explained.........by a desire to select archaic and monumental forms for epigraphic purposes and a failure to completely carry out this intention."[48] The type is not that of a horse as Rapson would describe it in the Catalogue,[49] but that of a bull whose hump and horns are visible. Coins of the bull type tentatively attributed by Rapson to the

45. According to V. A. Smith, Saṅgha is No. 9 and Meghasvati No. 16 in the Matsya list (ZDMG, 1902, p. 659). The coin would seem to belong to an early period in the history of the dynasty since the form of the *akṣara da* is that found in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription and in the Nāsik inscription of Kṛṣṇa Rāja: "So far as the evidence from epigraphy is concerned, this coin might well be assigned to the first or second century B. C." Rapson, *op. cit.*, lxxvii.

46. In the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of Catarapana Sātakani we have *raṇo* for *raño*. Lüders *op. cit.*, No. 1120.

47. Nos. 36, 37, 38. and 49 in EI, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 272.

48. IA. xxxiii, Appendix, Ind. Palae. p. 43.

49. *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

Sātavāhana dynasty, come from western India, especially from Ujjain and Erān.[50] The Sada coin is a square piece bearing the impress of a round die. Cunningham notes that some square coins with impressions made from round dies come from Ujjain and Erān.[51] It is hazardous to conclude on the provenance of a single coin that the early Sātavāhanas ruled over the *Āndhradeśa.* It is very probable that a coin of a Sātavāhana king of the first century B.C. or A.D. found its way from his dominions in the western Deccan into the *Āndhradeśa* in the wake of commerce.

The next group of coins found in the *Āndhradeśa* belong to Saka Sada (Saḍa?);[52] the name is an abbreviated and corrupted form of Sakasena Sātakaṇi. Sometimes in the inscriptions, for want of space or other reasons, titles and names are shortened.[53] Metronymics appear on some coins whilst in others of the same kings they do not.[54] So Sakasena Sātakaṇi can be identified with Māḍharīputa Sakasena Sātakaṇi of the Kaṇhēri inscriptions.[55] As the *Āndhradeśa* is not mentioned in the long record of Gotamī Balasiri[56] and as no coin or inscription of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–56.

51. *Op. cit.*, pp. 99, 100.

52. At Guḍivāḍa and Amarāvati; Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12.

53. Some coins cf Nahapāna (JBBRAS, XXIII, pp. 13ff.), coins of Caḍa Sātakaṇi and the lead coins attributed to Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscriptions are instances.

54. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21, 30-33, 38-42.

55. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji identified him with siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, successor of Puḷumāvi. He was probably led to it by his reading Sirisena for Sakasena. This reading is incorrect. (JBBRAS, VII, p. 407). Rapson remarks that (*op. cit.*, Intro. lxxv) for Śaka-Sata "no identification with a similar name occurring on other coins or in inscriptions (of the Sātavahanas) can be suggested." If Prof. Rapson and Dr. Bhandarkar (EHD, 3rd ed. p. 61) have embarked on an ocean of conjectures and doubtfully identified Saka Sada of the coins with Māḍhariputa Sakasena of the Kaṇhēri inscriptions or tried to read the third letter as *na* (Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 11, No 38), it is because they did not look upon Saka Sada as an abbreviated form.

56. *Vide infra.*

has been found in the *Āndhradeśa*, it is highly improbable that Māḍharīputa Sakasena preceded the former as Rapson would have it.[57] Dr. Bhandarkar would place Māḍharīputa Sakasena late in the Sātavāhana series.[58] Rapson remarks :—"In the inscription (of Māḍharīputa Sakasena).........the later form seems to occur in the name while the earlier form is seen in other words." It will be shown below that the alphabet of these inscriptions resembles that of a Kaṇhēri inscription of Siri-Yaña.[59] Moreover, the rather peculiar name Sakasena reminds us of the matrimonial alliance contracted with the Śakas by a successor of Vāsiṭhiputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi. Names ending in *sena* are brone by the Western Kṣatrapas of the line of Caṣṭana.[60] We might not, therefore, be grudged the conjecture that the peculiar name is a result of that matrimonial alliance.[61] Finally even according to Rapson's assumption, the earliest king who ruled over the *Āndhradēśa* on numismatic evidence would be No. 21 in the Sātavāhana series!

While discussing the inscriptions on the reverse of three coins of Siri-Yaña from Aparānta, Kathiawar and Baroda, Rapson remarks that the reverse inscription is substantially the same as the obverse inscription, but in a different dialect and written in a variety of the Brāhmī alphabet which has not been found elsewhere and which approaches most nearly to that of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions. "It seems reasonable to suppose, then," he concludes, "that the two varieties of alphabet used in the Kistna District were associated with the use of two different dialects (1) ....the 'Leṇaprākṛt' of Prof. Pischel,............and (2) a local Prākṛt, perhaps containing Dravidian elements, peculiar to the Kistna District. Traces of this latter dialect are probably to be seen in certain Andhra names, such as *Haku*=Śakti; *Hāla*=Śāta, &c.; and

57. *Op. cit.*, Intro. xxviii.

58. After 202 A.D., EHD, 3rd ed. p. 61.

59. ASWI, V, No. 15.

60. The Bhaṭṭiprōlu *ṣa* has its tail turned to the left and not to the right as on the coins of Siri-Yaña and Vāsithīputa Sātakaṇi; the *ha* of the coins bears very little resemblance to the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *ha*.

61. A predecessor of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi bears in the Purāṇic lists a name with-*sena* ending: Purindrasena.

its occurrence like that of the alphabet associated with it, on coins of Śrī-Yajña struck in Western India must, no doubt, be regarded as a reminiscence of the old home of the race in the Telugu country, ...".[62] So far as the alphabetical peculiarities are concerned, it seems that we now have a nearer analogy than the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions, to the characters on the Siri-Yaña coins. And this analogy is furnished by the inscription on the coin of (Hi)ru Hātakaṇi found in Sopāra and now to be seen in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. And this coin is clearly modelled on Kṣatrapa coinage. The peculiarities exhibited in individual letters like *ha* and *sa* by these coins would thus appear to be a development that took place in western India, a development which does not seem to stand in any necessary or direct relation to the Bhaṭṭiprōlu alphabet. The dialectical peculiarities exhibited by the legends of Siri-Yaña's coins are the use of *ha* for *sa*, and *ṣa* for final *sa*. The Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions do not offer us a single instance of the use of *ha* for *sa*. We cannot, therefore, be sure that we have in names like Haku, Hāla (the names of early Sātavāhanas) and Hiru-Hātakaṇi, traces of a dialect peculiar to the Kṛṣṇā district. True in the use of *ṣa* for final *sa*, we seem to have a trace of the Kṛṣṇā dialect, but this occurs only on the coins of Hiru-Hātakaṇi and Siri-Yaña (second century A.D.) and not earlier. Considering the distance in time and space between Bhaṭṭiprōlu and the Yaña coins, and the parallels we find for all other features shown by these coins in those of the Kṣatrapas, we may hesitate to accept the view that the use of *ṣa* for final *sa* is derived from the influence, direct or remote, of an eastern dialect. I am not at present able to offer an explanation of this feature.

Āndhradeśa is rich in *stūpas* some of which date back to the third and second century B.C., i.e., the Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Amarāvatī *Stūpas*;[63] it is really strange that these *stūpas* should not have contained coins of the early Sātavāhana kings whilst some of the later *stūpas*, or old *stūpas* which were decorated and enlarged in the

62. *Op. cit.*, Intro. xc, xci.

63. *EI*, II, p. 325.

second century A.D.,[64] should have yielded us numerous coins of Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi and his successors, i.e., siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, Caḍa Sātakaṇi, Rudra Sātakarṇi, Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi and Kaṇha Sātakaṇi.[65]

The most characteristic titles of the Āndhra kings are the metronymics. Metronymics seem to have been purely local, Gotīputa, Gāgīputa and Vāsiṭhīputa (borne by a royal artisan) occur in the Sāñci, Barhut and Bhilsā (Malwa) *stūpa* inscriptions of the second century B.C.[66] In the Pitalkhōrā cave inscriptions of the second century B.C. the royal physician Magila bears the title Vachīputa (Vātsiputra).[67] Metronymics like those borne by the Sātavāhanas are borne by their feudatories and officers in their inscriptions in the western Deccan.[68] In the numerous inscriptions in the *Āndhradeśa* metronymics occur only in three inscriptions of the second century AD.[69] In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions the Ikṣvākus and the high dignitaries of state under them, like the *Mahātalavaras* and *Mahāsenāpatis*, bear metronymics derived from Vedic *gotras*. It seems, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the Sātavāhanas had nothing to do with the *Āndhradeśa* at first and that the practice of coupling metronymics with personal names became common there after the Sātavāhanas had overrun it; that the practice was not native to the soil is shown by the fact that the successors of the Sātavāhanas in the *Āndhradeśa*, i.e., the kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra*, the Vaiṅgeyakas, the Kandaras and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, do not assume metronymics.

64. Rapson, *op. cit.*, lxxi.

65. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–52.

66. Lüders *op. cit.*, Nos. 680, 687 and 346.

67. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1189, 1191–93.

68. *Ibid.*, Nos. 1088, 1100 and 1146.

69. *Ibid.* Nos. 1248 and 1271. One of them (Goṁḍīputa) is quite unlike the metronymics borne by the Sātavāhanas, another is the metronymic borne by Puḷumāvi, son of Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi; a headless statue from the Amarāvati *Stūpa* bears the inscription *Gōtami nama(o)*'.

Many personal names, like alphabets and dialects, are local.[70] The queen of the third king of the dynasty bears a name ending in 'anika' (aṇika),[71] and names ending in 'aṇaka' and 'aṇika' (fem) occur frequently in the western cave inscriptions. The earliest known inscription in the eastern Deccan to mention a name with such an ending is the Amarāvati inscription dated in the regnal years of Vāsiṭhīputa sami Siri-Puḷumāvi, the first inscription on this side of South India to mention a Sātavāhana king. Such names occur frequently in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. Names resembling 'Vedisiri' and 'Bhāya'......' of the Nāṇeghāt inscriptions occur in the Kuḍā and Mahāḍ cave inscriptions;[72] a name beginning in Bhaya (Bhayabhūti) occurs in an unpublished Kārlā inscription. 'Skanda' which enters into the composition of the names of some of the early Sātavāhanas occurs in the Kuḍā, Kārlā and Nāsik inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D. and in the eastern inscriptions only after the reign of Vāsiṭhiputa sami Siri-Puḷumāvi. The Saḍakara of a Kuḍā inscription[73] bears a striking resemblance to the surname Sātakaṇi or Sādakaṇi.

Thus, all available epigraphic and numismatic evidence proves not only that undeniably the centre of gravity of the early Sātavāhana power lay in the western Deccan, but also that the early Sātavāhanas did not rule over the *Āndhradeśa*.

Jain literature furnishes corroborative evidence in the same direction. In many versions of the *Kālakācāryakathā* including the Long Anonymous Version, the Kālaka who changed the *Paryuṣāṇa* date is said to have gone to Pratiṣṭhāna, the city of Sālivāhana[74] and 'the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra.' The evidence of this work is of course of doubtful value; but it is adduced because it corroborates evidence from other sources. In

70. A glance at the long list of names in the Bhaṭṭiprōlu and the early western cave inscriptions is enough to prove the truth of this statement.

71. Nāyanikā.

72. Lüders, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1050, 1073 and 1091.

73. *Ibid.*, No. 1054.

74. Hemachandra in his grammar gives Sālivāhana as a Prākṛt conception of Sātavāhana, 1, 8, 211; Kālakācāryakathā, Norman Brown: p. 1.

Jain chronology the changing of the date is put at 993 Vira era (446 A.D.). The Sātavāhanas as a political power pass out of history in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. It seems preferable to accept the account of Yugapradhāna-svarūpa[75] according to which it was Kālaka I (died Vira era 376 or 171 B.C.) who changed the date, Kālaka III coming in to confirm the change 600 years later. Then, the Sātavāhana king mentioned must have been ruling at Paithān during the first half of the second century B.C.[76]

An old *gāthā* taken from the *Niyukti* (50 B. C.—150 A. D.) and cited in the commentary on the *Āvaśyaka Sūtra* says that Bharukaccha is known for Paithāna Sālavāhana and Nahavāṇa.[77] Bharukaccha, the Barygaza of the *Periplus*, is modern Broach. Obviously the Nahavāṇa and Sālavāhana were contemporaries. The Sanskrit commentary on it extracted in the *Abhidhāna Rājendra*[78] makes them contemporaries. The name Nahavāṇa, corrupted into Naravāha in Jinasena's *Harivamśa Purāṇa*, is a variation of Nahapāna.[79] The only Nahapāna so far known to history, is *Rājan Kṣatrapa* Nahapāna of the Kṣaharāta *vaṁśa*,[80] who dispossessed his Sātavāhana contemporary of a part of Mahārāṣṭra and Aparānta. The 'Naravāhas' of the *Harivamśa Purāṇa* may imply not the existence of two or more Nahapānas, but Nahapāna and his descendants. The old theory that dates in Uṣavadāta's (governor under Nahapāna) inscription[81] and the Junnār inscription of Ayama, a minister of Nahapāna,[82] must be referred to the Saka era is to be abandoned in favour of the theory that they are dated either in the regnal years of Nahapāna or in an era starting from

75. *Ibid*, p. 7.

76. An inscription in the Bhilsā Topes (2nd cen. B. C.) mentions a bhikkhu by name Patiṭhāna. *Bhilas Topes*, p. 255, No. 145.

77. JBORS, 1930, p. 290.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 291-293.

79. For instances of the use of *va* for *pa* see Pischel's Gram der Prā Spra., Sec. 144.

80. The Mambanes of the *Periplus*.

81. EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik, No. 12.

82. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 103, No. 11.

the end of the first century B.C. The capital of the Sātavāhanas in the first century A.D. would, therefore, seem to have been Paithān.

The theory of a second eastern capital of the Sātavāhanas also rests upon unsafe foundations. The only source of the assertion made by many writers that the capital of the early Sātavāhanas was Dhaññakaṭaka, is the conjecture of Dr. Bhandarkar that the compound *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* in Nasik No. 3[83] may be taken as *Dhanakaṭasāminehi.*[84] Obsessed by the unproven and improbable theory of the conjoint rule of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi[85] and Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi, and taking for granted that the donation recorded in the beginning of Nāsik No. 3 is identical with that recorded in Balasiri's inscription, Dr. Bhandarkar says[86] that Dhanakaṭasāmi [lord of Dhanakaṭa (ka)] is a title of Gotamīputa Sātakani and reads Benākaṭakasāmi of Nāsik No. 4 as Dhanakaṭakasāmi.[87]

In his valuable paper on the Nāsik inscriptions Emile Senart has pointed out the orthographical objection to the identification of Dhanakaṭa with Dhaññakaṭaka (equivalent to or near modern Dharaṇikoṭ) of the Amarāvatī inscriptions. Considering the general similarity of *b* and *dh*, he would read Benākaṭa for Dhanakaṭa.[88] D. R. Bhandarkar, however, does not agree with Senart. He says.[89]—" What is read as Dhanakaṭa can also be read as

83. *Vide infra.*, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 65, t. l. 2; dated in the regnal years of Puḷumāvi.

84. EHD, p. 30, n. 13; Dhaññakaṭaka is mentioned in two Amarāvatī inscrr. (EI, Vol. XV, Nos. 4 and 5, pp. 262-63) as a market-town (*nigama*) only. Ptolemy mentions Pitundra (Bk. VII, Chap. I, sec. 93) and not Dhaññakaṭaka as the capital of the Maisōlia region. The earliest mention of Dhaññakaṭaka as the headquarters of a district is in the Mayidavōlu plates; also ASSI, Vol. I, No. 53, *Dhaṁñakaṭaka.*

85. JRAS, 1926, pp. 644-650.

86. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

87. Transact. Second, Lond. Congr. Ori., p. 349.

88. *Op. cit.*, p. 68.

89. IA, 1913, p. 280, n. 16.

Dhaṁnakaṭa (Dhannakaṭa); and as, in Nāsik inscriptions *n* is used instead of *ñ* (compare *e.g.*, *ānapayati* of the same Nāsik inscription), Dhaṁnakaṭa can very well be taken to be equivalent to Dhaṁñakaṭaka. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar's view, therefore, still stands incontrovertible." To draw a parallel between the change of *na* in a Prākṛt word into *ña* in its Sanskrit equivalent (*ājñāpayati*) and the change of *ña* into *na* in different forms of a Prākṛt word is misleading. Moreover, the literary Pāli form, which occurs in the Nāsik inscription also, is '*āṇapayati*' and not '*ānapayati*'. The instance cited by Dr. Bhandarkar is one of the use of *na* for *ña*.[90] There is not one clear instance of *na* used for *ña* in Prākṛt. The only instance cited by Pischel is one of the change of *ña* into *cina*, (*rañā* becomes *rācina*, *rācino* and *rācini*) and this is not relevant to the point at issue.[91] In the Mayidavolu plates[92] edited after Pischel's Prākṛt Grammar was published[93] we have the word '*ana*' (*anna*) the literary Pāli form of which is 'añña' and no support can be derived from this inscription for Bhandarkar's position regarding Dhaññakaṭaka because the Mayidavōlu grant comes much later and from an altogether different area.[94]

Dhanakaṭasāmi could not have been the title of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, for neither was he reigning when Nāsik Nos. 2 and 3 were incised, nor are the donations recorded in the two inscriptions identical; No. 2 records a non-official grant and No. 3 an official grant.[95] Finally the reading *Dhanakaṭasamiyehi* must be abandoned for Bühler's and Senart's reading *Dhanakaṭasamanehi*. Thus the title "Lord of Dhanakaṭaka" is hypothetical.

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90. We have a parallel in the Nāṇeghāṭ ins. of Catarapana Sātakaṇi (*raṇo* for *raño*).

91. *Op. cit.*, Sec. 237, p. 167.

92. EI, Vol. VI, pp. 84-89.

93. The plates were, however, discovered a year before the book was published.

94. In Junnar No. 10, (ASWI, Vol. IV. Pl, XLIX) we have *Dhaṁñikaseṇiya* not *Dhanikaseṇiya*.

95. For a detailed discussion of these points, *vide infra*.

V. A. Smith's and J. Burgess'[96] theory that Śri-Kākuḷam was the capital of the early Sātavāhanas is based on a passage in the *Triliṅgānuśāsanam,* translated and quoted by Campbell in his *Telugu Grammar.*[97] The thick fog of legendary matter in the passage will be apparent to any reader. Āndhra Viṣṇu, son of the first Āndhra monarch Sucandra (Simuka of the second century B.C.), is said in the same work to have been a patron of the first Telugu Grammarian Kaṇva.[98] We know that Telugu was in the course of formation in the fifth century A. D., from the distinctly Telugu suffix in a Viṣṇukuṇḍin record.[99] Atharvaṇācārya quotes from the *Vālmīki Sūtras* on Prākṛt, and it has been shown that the Sūtras were composed by Trivikrama[100] who according to Dr. Hultzsch must have lived between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries A. D.[101] The testimony of a writer removed from the early Sātavāhanas by more centuries than we are from him should not have been made the basis of such a categorical statement.

The old theory has another weak link. The attempts of Rapson and V. A. Smith to bring the epigraphic and numismatic evidence in line with the Purāṇic testimony, have led them to postulate a rapid expansion of the Sātavāhana empire from the lower Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā valleys, as far as Nāsik before the end of Kaṇha's reign, that is to say, within 20 years.[102] Yet Simuka and Kaṇha

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96. EHI, 2nd edn. p. 194; ASSI, Vol. I, pp. 3-4. The way in which Śri-Kākuḷam is marked on the map appended to the Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum shows that Rapson favours their view.

97. Intro. p. ii.

98. Footnote (Introduction viii) "He who speaks irreverently of my Grammar composed by the command of Andhra Vishṇoo shall be considered as guilty of irreverence to this priest."

99. EI, Vol. IV, the Chikkulla plates l. 26.

100. IA, XL, 219*ff.*

101. *Ibid.*, p. 221: "The time of Trivikrama can be settled only within rather wide limits. He quotes Hemachandra, who lived in the 12th century, and he is quoted in the *Ratnāpaṇa* of Kumārasvāmin, who belonged to the fifteenth or sixteenth century."

102. ZDMG, 1902, p. 657.

in whom the Washington and the Napoleon are combined, are mentioned in very short inscriptions only and no deed whatever of theirs is recorded. If they did in fact engage in wars of extensive conquest, the vast military operations would have necessitated large issues of coins. Not a single coin of Simuka or Kaṇha has been picked up in the western Deccan or in the *Āndhradeśa.* Not even a Chandragupta Maurya could have accomplished the feat of liberating a people and building up, in such a short period, a huge and well organised empire, that withstood the shocks from the Śakas for a long period. Such a rapid expansion is not known to any period of South Indian History. Expansion from the plains over the tableland and the mountainous regions presents far greater difficulties than expansion from the mountainous regions over the plains.[103] With a powerful and jealous neighbour in Kaliṅga, which would seem to have thrown off the Mauryan yoke along with the Sātavāhanas, a westward expansion would well nigh have been impossible. The inventive genius of the historian has not only painted the glories of Simuka and Kaṇha whom inscriptions and literature agree to treat in a singularly unimpressive manner, but also brought about a travesty of justice in so far as the achievements of great conquerors like Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and some of his predecessors like Sātakaṇi I have been fathered upon dim figures in history.

True, Sātakaṇi I, the third king of the line, is called 'Dakhiṇāpathapati.'[104] But Dakhiṇāpatha is an ambiguous term. In its widest sense it includes the whole of the Peninsula south of the Vindhyas; since a passage in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* excludes the Narmadā and the Tapti valleys,[105] the term seems to have been used in a narrow sense, then, as now. To go to an earlier work than the Purāṇas, the author of the *Periplus* (first century A.D.) mentions the market-towns of the Dachinabades separately from the market-towns of Damirica, mistakenly called by him Limyrike, i.e., the extreme south of the Peninsula including particularly the Cera,

103. Lüders, *op. cit.*, Nos. 1112 and 1114.

104. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 60, Pl. LI.

105. Chap. 45, Verse 104. Bibliotheca Indica ed.

Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya countries.[106] The extreme south is likewise excluded. Since the Maisōlos of Ptolemy is most probably the Kṛṣṇā,[107] and since the Maisōlia of Ptolemy is the Masalia of the *Periplus*, Masalia would seem to be the name of the lower Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī region, i.e., the Āndhradeśa. The author of the *Periplus* says that this region was studded with centres of trade and industry.[108] Yet all the market-towns (of which Paithān and Tagara identified with modern Junnār are the most important) of the Dachinabades mentioned in the *Periplus* are in the western Deccan.[109] Thus it is clear that the Dachinabades of the *Periplus* excludes the extreme east and south of the peninsula.[110]

Even those who have propounded the theory of western origin of Sātavāhana power have failed to correlate properly the Purānic with epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Relying upon a passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* which speaks of the Āndhras as living on the fringes of Aryan civilisation,[111] Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar places the Āndhras in the Vindhyan regions.[112] But we do not know the exact limits of Aryan civilisation in those days. It has been proved beyond doubt that the ancient home of the Āndhras then as now was the lower valleys of the Godāvarī and the Kṛṣṇā. His theory of western origins of Sātavāhana power, not accompanied by arguments, looks like a shot in the air.

Sukthankar cuts the Gordian knot by challenging the Āndhra affinities of the Sātavāhanas.[113] According to him in the whole range of epigraphic records, the Sātavāhanas are nowhere called Āndhras. The passages from Greek authors which mention the Āndhra country and people contain no reference to the Sātavāhanas while those in which certain Sātavāhana kings are men-

106. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.* Sec. 51.

107. *Vide supra.*

108. Schoff, *op. cit.*, Sec. 62.

109. *Ibid.*, Sec. 51, 52, and 53.

110. Suzerainty over the whole of the Peninsula is therefore to be ruled out.

111. *Vide supra.*

112. IA, 1913, pp. 28*ff.*

113. *Op. cit.*

tioned have nothing to say about the Āndhras. The hopeless confusion of the Purāṇas makes their evidence worthless.[114]

All these objections would vanish if the available pieces of evidence are properly weighed. Sukthankar treats '*Andhra-bhṛtya*' as a *Tatpuruṣa* compound (Servants of the Āndhras) 'having regard to the parallel phrase *Śuṅgabhṛtya* applied to the Kaṇvas.' The Purāṇic words '*Andhrajātīyaḥ*' and '*Kāṇvāyanāms tato bhṛtyāḥ Suśarmāṇāḥ prasahya taṁ*' (Matsya) exclude the grammatical construction adopted by Sukthankar. The compound should, therefore, be treated as a *Karmadhārya* one, in which case it would mean 'Āndhra Servants.' Then the Sātavāhanas could have been Āndhras and Āndhrabhṛtyas. Sātavāhana is a family or a dynastic name while Āndhra is a tribal name (*Āndhrajāti*). In an inscription we have the expression *Sātavāhana kulaṁ*;[115] in Prākṛt '*kula*' essentially means 'family.'[116] The term '*jāti*' on the other hand means 'caste or tribe.' That the terms Sātavāhana and Āndhra are not identical is shown by the fact that in the grants of Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman Sātāhani-raṭṭha (Sātavāhani-raṭṭha) and Aṁdhāpatha (Āndhrāpatha) are the names given to two provinces.[117] No wonder then that the inscriptions which give the dynastic name considered the mention of the tribal name superfluous.[118]. In the Pallava Kadamba

114. Some of the Purāṇas call these kings Āndhras; others call them Āndhra-bhṛtyas, and there are others that call them by both names. The majority of the Purāṇas distinguish between Āndhras and Āndhrabhṛtyas, and state that the Āndhrabhṛtyas succeeded the Āndhras. *Ibid.*, p, 29.

115. '*Sātavāhana kule Kaṇhe rājāni etc.*', Nāsik, No. 22, EI, Vol, VIII, p. 93; and '*Sātavāhanakula yasapatithāpanakarasa*,' Nāsik, No. 2, *ibid.*, 60 t. 1. 6.

116. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Dhammapadam*, the Five Jātakas and *Kuddhakapāṭha*, it is used in this sense only. In the Tāḷaguṇḍa ins. of Kākusthavarman, (EI., Vol. VIII, p. 32, t. 1. 3), *Kadambakula* signifies the Kadamba family.

117. The Hira-Haḍagaḷḷi and the Mayidavōlu plates.

118. In Uṣavadāta's Nāsik and Kārlā inscrr. Nahapāna is called a Kṣaharāta, and we know from Nāsik No. 2 that Kṣaharāta is a family name, (Khakharātavasa). In a Kaṇhēri ins. (Lüders, *op. cit.*, No. 1021) *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman's daughter is said to have belonged to the Kārddamaka race or family. From literary and other sources we know that Nahapāna and Rudradāman belonged to the Pahlava and Śaka tribes.

and Cāḷukya records the dynastic appellation only is given and if literary evidence should throw some light upon their tribal connections no one would challenge them by saying that such connections are unknown to epigraphic records. As for the Greek writers, Megasthenes does not mention the dynastic name of the Magadhan, Kaliṅgan, and Āndhra kings. Ptolemy mentions Polemaios (Vāsiṭhīputa sami Siri-Puḷumāvi of the records) of Paithān, but does not give us his dynastic name. Are we to hold that he did not belong to the Sātavāhana *kula*?

It will not do to ignore the Purāṇic testimony to the extent to which Sukthankar has done. No doubt the Purāṇas have to answer charges of defective chronology, incomplete lists of kings, corruption in names and different readings of the same passage in different manuscripts. Most of these defects are a result not of ignorance of facts on the part of Purāṇic writers but of misreading of manuscripts and bad copying; Pargiter thinks that the corruption in names must have occurred in the Sanskritization of Prākṛt names.[119] The earliest Purāṇa, the *Bhaviṣya*, from which the *Matsya, Vāyu, Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu* derive their account, Sanskritized earlier metrical accounts in literary Prākṛt; the dynastic portion terminates with the downfall of the Āndhras and the rise of their servants. The *Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* carry the narrative to the rise of the Guptas, but are silent about the whirlwind campaigns of Samudragupta. Pargiter notes[120] that between 325–340 A.D. the accounts were revised twice. The Purāṇas were, therefore, redacted at a time when the Sātavāhana dominion in South India was a thing of the immediate past. Pargiter has shown that there is an indication that a compilation was begun in the latter part of the second century A.D. in Siri-Yaña's reign, for five manuscripts of the *Matsya*, of which three appear to be independent,[121] speak of him as reigning in his

119. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 97*ff.* It must be noted, however, that Pargiter's conclusions have often been challenged by Keith-Kirfel, and other writers.

120. *Ibid.*, pp. xiii, *g* 23.

121. *Ibid.*, p. 42, *n.* 8.

ninth or tenth year. The nearness of the Purāṇas to the Sātavāhanas makes their testimony about their tribal affinities unquestionable.[122]

Having cut himself from the old moorings of Purāṇic testimony, Mr. Sukthankar seeks to locate the habitat of the Sātavāhanas in the modern Bellary District. The only source of his assertion is the terms '*Sātavāhani-hāra*' and '*Sātāhani-raṭṭha*' (*Sātāvāhani-raṭṭha*) occurring in inscriptions coming from the small compass of the Bellary District.[123] On the analogy of inhabitants lending their names to countries, he looks upon Sātavāhani-hāra corresponding to the modern Bellary District and perhaps its neighbourhood as the original habitat of the Sātavāhanas.

If Sātavāhani-hāra was the starting point of Sātavāhana power, why are not inscriptions of the early Sātavāhanas found in this territory? Worse still, only an inscription of the last king of the

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122. While Sukthankar accuses the Purāṇas of calling *Āndhrabhṛtyas* (servants of the Āndhras) Āndhras, Ray Chaudhuri suggests that the name Āndhra "probably came to be applied to the kings in later times when they lost their northern and western possessions and became purely an Āndhra power governing the territory at the mouth of the river Kṛishṇā" (*Pol. His. of India*, p. 280). Sātavāhana rule over the Āndhradeśa lasted for three quarters of a century. Sāmi Siri-Yaña, No. 27 in the Matsya list, ruled over the western Deccan. The Sātavāhanas would seem to have become a purely eastern power barely a few decades before their fall. It has been shown that a compilation of the Purāṇas was begun in Siri-Yaña's reign, at a time when the Sātavāhanas were a western as well as an eastern power.

123. The Myākadoni inscription and the Hira-Haḍagaḷḷi plates. Myākadoni is a village in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary Dt.

Hemachandra gives Sālāhana and Sālavāhana as variations of Sātavāhana (Pischel, *op. cit.*). True, *viṣaya* (Hira-Haḍagaḷḷi plates) and *rāṣṭra* (Cōlaraṭṭha) denote sometimes a kingdom. But in the Uruvupaḷḷi grant Muṇḍarāṣtra is referred to at the end as a *viṣaya* (IA, Vol. V, p. 51. t. ll 17, 28). The Kūdūrahāra of the Koṇḍamudi grant is called Kudrāhāra-viṣaya in the Vaiṅgeyaka grants and Kudrāra-viṣaya in some Eastern Cāḷukya grants. Therefore Sātavāhana '*āhāra*,' Pallava '*rāṣṭra*' and Vaiṅgeyaka '*visaya*' would denote the same territorial division—not bigger than a modern district.

line is found here;[124] and Sukthankar bases his conclusions on the provenance of inscriptions! He gives instances of provinces getting their names from their early inhabitants. But the term in question is an instance of a dynasty lending its name to a part of the kingdom and not of a people lending their name to the whole kingdom.[125]

We are prepared to say with Mr. Sukthankar that the province must have been so called on account of "some intimate connection" between the land and the dynasty. A tentative solution may be proposed that under the later Sātavāhanas, a town in Satavāhani-hāra became the seat of their capital which would have been shifted to the east after the conquset of their western territories by the Western Kṣatrapas. True, during the reign of the last king, the province is under a Mahāsenāpati.[126] Instances of the headquarters of a district lending its name to the district are numerous, *e.g.*, Govadhana, Govadhanahāra (Lüders, *List* No. 1124); Kūdūra, Kūdūrahāra (No. 1328): Patiṭhāṇa and Patiṭhāṇapatha (No. 988) and Dhaññakaṭaka and the kingdom of To-na-kie-tse-kia which may be considered as the Chinese representative of Dhaññakaṭaka. In the Tāḷagunḍa inscription of Kakusthavarman, the capital of the Pallavas is called Pallavapurī. Kandarapura at which Mahārāja Damodaravarman of the Ānanda *gotra* is said to have ruled[127] must have received its name from that prince Kandara who is mentioned as an ancestor of Attivarman.[128] The Ānandas and the Pallavas are not far removed from the Sātavāhanas. The capital of the Sātavahanas might have been called Sātavāhanapura or Sātavāhanipura and the district in which it was

124. The Myākadoni inscription of Puḷumāvi.

125. "The learned Parimellaḷagar is inclined to make Cōḷa the name, like the Pāṇḍya and Cēra, of a ruling family or clan of immemorial antiquity and renown." *The Cōḷas*, Vol. I, p. 24. *Cōḷamaṇḍalam* would then be an instance of a territorial designation formed on a dynastic name. It is not however, an instance of a part of a kingdom getting its name from the dynasty to the exclusion of the other parts.

126. The Myākadoni inscription of Puḷumāvi.

127. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

128. IA, Vol. IX, pp, 102-103.

situated, Sātavāhani-hāra;[129] the Pallavas might have continued the name.

Now the Purāṇic, epigraphic and numismatic evidence can be correlated in a way different from those so far considered. The term Āndhrabhṛtya, 'Āndhra Servant' gives the clue. Will the facts of Sātavāhana history make it improbable that the Sātavāhanas, undoubtedly Āndhras by tribal connections, were high officers of state under the Mauryas like the Kaṇvas, called the servants of the Śuṅgas? True, the Āndhra territory while acknowledging Mauryan suzerainty enjoyed some independence unlike the 'King's Dominions.' This semi-independence need not have been a bar to the Āndhras (of the ruling family) accepting offices under the suzerain. In Asoka's edicts, Yavanas are politically classed with the Āndhras;[130] and we find a Yavana serving as governor under Asoka.[131]

It may still seem impossible to ascertain how these 'Servant Āndhras' of the eastern Deccan drifted into the western Deccan. Asoka's edicts and the Girnār inscription of Rudradāman form links in the chain of evidence, and suggest that the Mauryan dominion in South India was the medium through which this drift took place. In Asoka's edicts the Yavanas are placed with the Gāndhāras and Kāmbojas in the north-west, and still Surāṣṭra was governed by a Yavana king for Asoka. Indian History offers us many clear instances of dynastic drifts like the Mauryas of Konkan, the Guptas or Guttas of Guttal and the Cōḷas of Renāṇḍu. In the reign of Pulakeśin II "in the Koṅkaṇas, the watery stores of the pools which were the Mauryas were quickly ejected by the great wave which was Caṇḍadaṇḍa, who acted at his command."[132] A prince, Dhavaḷa, of the Maurya lineage is mentioned in the Kaṇaswa inscription of A.D. 738-739, in the Kotah State, Raja-

129. Excavations of the type conducted at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa may bring to light the remains of the capital in the Bellary Dt. or its neighbourhood. In the Adoni taluq there is a village called Sātanūru.

130. RE. XIII.

131. The Girnār ins of Rudradāman, EI, VIII, p. 45, t. l. 8.

132. The Aihōḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II, IA, VIII, p. 244.

putana.[133] In an inscription of Vāghḷi in the Khandesh District dated Ś. 991, princes of the Maurya clan, the original home of which is said to have been the city of Valabhi in Surāṣtra, are mentioned.[134] The Guttas of the twelfth century A.D. with their capital at Guttavoḷal, which may be safely identified with the modern Guttal in the Karaji taluq of the Dharwar District (where all their records are found), trace their descent to Chandragupta through a Vikramāditya who is specified as a king of Ujjain. The earliest Telugu records (eighth century A.D.) from the Cuddapah District including the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, have brought to light a line of kings claiming Cōḷa descent, who had however their dominion in Pallava territory.[135] The Vēlūrpāḷayaṁ plates give us the clue;[136] there the Pallava Siṁhaviṣṇu is said to have "seized the country of the Cōḷas embellished by the daughter of Kavera whose ornaments are the forests of the paddy (fields) and where (are found) brilliant groves of areca." When the power of the Cōḷas fell to a low ebb and Siṁhaviṣṇu's sway extended over the Cōḷa country, the scions of the eclipsed Cōḷa dynasty must have sought service under their conqueror and so moved up north.[137] Epigraphical records from the Maddaguri taluq of the Tumkur District refer to a certain Dhanaṁjaya Eṟiga, a Cōḷa. The Cōḷas of the Tumkur District may have been of a common stock with the Cōḷas of Renāṇḍu among whom we have a Dhanaṁjayavarman.[138] The drift of the Mauryas from Magadha to konkan, Khandesh and Rajputana, and of the Guptas (Guttas) from the north to Guttal may be explained in the same manner. Even as late as the sixteenth century, Cōḷa chiefs with traditionary descent from Karikāla are found as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.[139] (The instances so far cited support the theory that in

133. *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 56.
134. EI, Vol. II, pp. 220 *ff*.
135. The Mālēpāḍu plates, EI, XI, p. 345.
136. SII, Vol. II, No. 98, pp. 507 *ff*.
137. The names of the first two princes mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu plates, Nandivarman and his son Siṁhaviṣṇu, bear striking resemblance to some names in Pallava genealogy.
138. 380 of 1904.
139. ARE, 1909, p. 112.

the days of tribulation and rather obscure existence under their Mauryan suzerains, scions of the royal family in the Āndhradeśa might have passed into the service of the Mauryan kings and so have gone to the western Deccan as viceroys, thereby getting the Purāṇic appellation Āndhrabhṛtya. A fragment of Rock Edict VIII discovered at Supāra [140] makes it certain that a part of the western Deccan was included in the "King's Dominions.' When the strong arm of Asoka disappeared, their shrewd and more fortunate descendants would have found themselves in a position to strike a blow in their own interest, not in the land of their birth which was far away but in the land of their adoption. It is possible that in some such manner Simuka, an Āndhra, might have started the political power of the dynasty. But at present we have no evidence in favour of this conjecture.

For all that we know, the ancestors of the Sātavāhanas of the western Deccan might not have belonged to any royal family in the Āndhradeśa. They might have been nobles or fortune hunters who readily passed into the service of the Mauryan suzerains and so moved up to western Deccan.

If the Jain legends which mention Paithān as the capital of the first Sātavāhana king may be believed, it would seem to be the starting-point of the Sātavāhana power. The close association of the Sātavāhanas with *Mahārathis* (matrimonial alliance) and the office of *Mahārathi* show the extent to which Simuka enlisted the support of the powerful Raṭhikas of the west. This reminds one of the Cuṭu-Pallava matrimonial alliance which would seem to have, in the same measure, contributed to Pallava ascendancy in the south (later Pallava inscriptions mention a Cūta-Pallava as the founder of the dynasty). If the Purāṇic '*bhṛtyāḥ*' and '*sa jātiyaḥ*' are correct, it would seem that Simuka was also helped by a number of faithful Āndhras who like his ancestors had moved up to the western Deccan. The early Sātavāhanas seem to have been engaged in the first instance in the conquest of Mahārāṣṭra north and south, Malwa and the modern Central Provinces.

140. CII, Vol. .

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY SĀTAVĀHANAS

The Starting point

Relying upon the supposed date in the Maurya era in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela,[1] and looking upon Khāravela as the third member of the Cedi dynasty of Kaliṅga[2] like Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Sātavāhana dynasty, Rapson would place the beginnings of the dynasty (170 B.C. + 41, i.e., Simuka 23, Kaṇha 18) somewhere between 220 and 211 B.C.[3] The chronological arrangements adopted here would place Simuka 384 years[4] before 150 A.D., i.e. 234 B.C. Though an edict later than Rock Edict VIII dated in the tenth year of Asoka[5] has not been found in western Deccan,[6] it is improbable that Asoka's reign witnessed a break-up of the empire; and Asoka's death would seem to have taken place somewhere between 236 and 232 B.C.[7] The same

1. Messrs. R. D. Banerji and K. P. Jayaswal remark: (EI, Vol. XX, p. 74) "It has been proved by repeated examinations of the rock that there is no date in the Maurya era......as supposed by Bhagwanlal Indraji and ourselves formerly." The inscription reads "*Muriya Kāla vochinam ca coyaṭhi Aṁga-satika (m) turiyam upādayati*" 'causes to be completed the 11 Aṅgas of the 64 letters which had become lost (or fragmentary) with the time of the Mauryas.'
2. *Vṛddharājā* and *Kṣemarājā* like *Bhikṣurājā* are epithets applied to King Khāravela, and not the names of his father and grandfather respectively as suggested by Rapson. (CIC, *Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas etc.*, xviii). The text has '*Khemarājā sa Vaḍharājā sa Bhikhurājā sa Dharmarājā pasamt(o) Sunat(o) anubhavato kalāṇāni...rājasi Vasūkula vinisrito mahāvijayo Rājā Khāravela siri*' EI, Vol. XX, p. 80.
3. *Op. cit.*
4. It would be shown below that Śivaskanda of the Purāṇas (No. 26 in the list) was the king defeated by Rudradāman twice before 150 A.D.
5. 10th year after his coronation.
6. A fragment found at Sopāra.
7. The Purāṇic statements would place an interval of 49 years between the accessions of Chandragupta and Asoka. According to V. A. Smith's

conclusion can be arrived at in another way. As Pargiter has pointed out,[8] the Purāṇic total of the individual reigns (of the Sātavāhana kings) excluding 24-a, is only 442½ years even if we take the longest periods, where there is a difference. But the whole duration is said to have been 460 in the *Matsya*, though it is given as 411 in *Vāyu*. The addition of Sātakarṇi mentioned in e *Vāyu* only would increase its total to 440. It would therefore appear, that the total 442½ years has much to be said in its favour. The end of the Sātavāhana dynasty cannot be placed earlier than 207 A.D.,[9] and 442½ years before 207 A.D. would give us the same 234 B.C.[10]

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scheme of chronology, Chandragupta began to reign in 322-21 B.C. So Asoka would have ascended the throne in 272 B.C., he is said to have ruled for 36 years and been anointed 4 years after his accession.

8. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 37.

9. The Sātavāhanas ruled for 55 years after 150 A.D.

10. The Purāṇas place the Sātavāhanas after the Kāṇvas, i.e., (Mauryas 139, Śuṅgas 112 and Kāṇvas 45) 25 B.C. The Purāṇas treat contemporary dynasties as successive. They say that 18 Śakas (Western Kṣatrapas) came after the Sātavāhanas. Some of the Western Kṣatrapas of the Caṣṭana line were certainly contemporaries of the later Sātavāhanas as inscriptions, coins and Ptolemy's statement would show. It is not possible under the Purāṇic scheme to place Gautamīputra Sātakarni and Puḷumāvi who certainly preceded Rudradāman of the Girnār inscription of 150 A.D., after that date; for does not Ptolemy call Caṣṭana the grandfather of Rudradāman, a contemporary of Puḷumāvi?

In the memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 1, *Dates of Votive Inscriptions from Sāñcī*, R. P. Chanda argues on palaeographical grounds that the earliest votive inscriptions are later than Asoka's and Heliodorus' inscriptions by a century, and that the Siri-Sātakaṇi inscription belongs to the later group, which he assigns to the period between 75 and 20 B.C. He identifies the Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Sāñcī inscription with No. 6 in the line. No. 6 in the line, according to the chronological scheme adopted here, belongs to the years between 180 and 130 B.C. There is no reason why he should not be one of the numerous Sātakarṇis found in the Purāṇic lists after No 6.

A comparative study of the palaeography of the Nāṇeghāṭ and Bhilsā inscriptions enables us to reject the view of Bühler that the Sātakaṇis of the two inscriptions are identical. Bhilsā *va* with the shorter neck and rounded body, the more ornate Bhilsā *i* sign, the less angular *ta*

Founder of the dynasty: Simuka

As the Purāṇas speak of 'Simuka Sātavāhana Sirimato' as simply '*Siśuko 'ndhraḥ sa jātīyaḥ*' before the *coup d'etat*, and as Rāja Simuka' after it,[11] it is certain that he was the founder of the dynasty. But as his brother Kaṇha is also said to have belonged to the Sātavāhana *kula*,[12] Simuka could not have given the name of the dynasty. Then who gave the name to the dynasty? The question cannot at present be satisfactorily answered.

The meaning of 'Sātavāhana' is as obscure as those of 'Cāḷukya,' 'Pallava' and 'Vākāṭaka.' For one thing the name is not Sātavāhana as Rapson would have it.[13] Jinaprabhasūri, a Jain

with the vertical at the centre and the *da* with the more rounded back than the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription, stamp the Bhilsā inscription as one later than the Nāṇeghāt inscription.

The Bhilsā Tope inscription under reference is carved on the bas-relief of a *toraṇa* in the middle of the upper architrave of the South Gateway. It records the donation of a Vāsiṭhīputra Ānanda, the foreman of the artisans of Siri-Sātakaṇi The plates published in the JBORS, 1917, make it clear that Vāsiṭhīputra is the metronymic not of the king but of the artisan. For Rapson's view, *op. cit.*, xlvii.

11. Pargiter : *op. cit.*, p. 38.

12. The Purāṇas give various readings: *Matsya* generally 'Śiśuka'; *d Mt. Siśudhrah*; *e* Mt. Śiśuka; *e Vāyu* Cismako; *Viṣṇu Sipraka* : *j Vis.* Sudhra. According to Pargiter (*op. cit*, p. 38, *n.* 17), Simuka was misread 'Siśuka' and Sanskritized 'Śiśuka'; and Śiśuka cannot be Sanskrit Śrimukha (one with a glorious face as Bhagwanlal and Bühler proposed (ASWI, Vol. V, p. 69). Sans, 'Śri' is invariably represented in Prākṛt by 'siri'. In the *relievo* inscription at Nāṇeghāṭ itself, Simuka bears the honorific prefix 'Sirimato'. 'Śiva' enters into the composition of some Sātavāhana names and is used as an honorific prefix even by early Sātavāhanas. However, palaeography prevents us from subscribing to Burgess' view that "Sivamaka (of an Amarāvatī inscription) might possibly be the same as Simuka of the Nāṇeghaṭ inscription No. 3." (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 62. n. 2).

13. Sātavāhana with the dental *s* occurs in Bāṇa's verse, Hemachandra's works and Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara.* However, Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* spells the word with palatal sibilant *ś*. The words as given by Bhandarkar are (EHD, p. 69. n. 7) '*Kartaryā Kuntalaḥ Śātakarniḥ Śātavāhaṇo Mahādevīṁ Malayavatim* (*jaghāna*)'. Dr. Fleet remarks (JRAS,

monk of the fourteenth century A.D., derives the word thus: '*Sanoterdānārthatvāt lokaiḥ Sātavāhana iti vypadeṣam lambhitaḥ,*' i.e. people call him Sātavāhana, because (the verb) '*sanoti*' signifies 'to give' and hence one by whom were given (*sātāni*) conveyances (*vāhanāni*) was called Sātavāhana.[14] Another derivation of the names is given in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which explains it as meaning 'he who rode a *yakṣa* named Sāta (in the form of a lion)'.[15] These fanciful explanations show that the origin of the term was forgotten long before the fourteenth century. Recently M. Przyluski has given us an equally fanciful explanation.[16] According to him *Sādaṁ, sadāṁ* and *sādāṁ* in Muṇḍa languages mean 'horse,' *vāhana* is a Sanskritization of *han* or *hapan* meaning 'son.' Sātavāhana is rendered 'son of horse.' The explanation given is, that princes born of the magical union between the chief queen and the sacrificial horse (during the performance of the *Aśvamedha*) would have come to be called 'sons of the horse.' It is not possible here to traverse the grounds, highly speculative, on which Przyluski seeks to trace pre-Dravidian influences in post-Aryan society and institutions in India. We must be .content with the observation that, according to the learned philologist's explanation every kṣatriya prince, whose father had performed the *Aśvamedha* would be a Sātavāhana or Sātahapan. Yet history knows of only one dynasty that went by that name. It is possible to consider 'Sāta' as the past participle :of *San*, to obtain, to gain; Sātavāhana would then mean one who obtained a 'vāhana', perhaps one who by his deeds secured a high position in Mauryan military service; and the Sātavāhanas were according to the Purāṇas 'Servant Āndhras.' The *Śilappadikāram* refers to *Purambaṇaiyān vāḷkōṭṭam* and

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1916, p. 818 n. 3)' "It is, however not possible that Vātsyāyana himself can have used the palatal sibilant in these two names." As will be shown below, Śātakarṇi with the palatal sibilant *ś* is a mistake for Sātakarṇi with the dental *s*. It then becomes easier to suppose that Śātavāhana with the palatal sibilant *ś* is a similar error in spelling,

14. JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 132.

15. *Kathāsaritsāgarā*, trans. Vol. I, p. 37.

16. JRAS. 1929, p. 273.

Pāśaṇḍa Śāttan (ix, ll. 12 and 15). The commentaries explain *Puṟambaṇaiyān* by *Māśāttan* and *Śātavāhanan*; I do not think that these references to the village deity, the guardian of the boundary of the village, and to his proficiency in the heretical lore have any place in the elucidation of the dynastic name of the Sātavāhanas. For one thing Aḍiyārkkunallār, the commentator, is only as old as Jinaprabhasūri- The spelling in 'Śāstā' is another argument.[17]

The wife of Sātakaṇi I was versed in and performed numerous sacrifices and worshipped Vāsudeva, Kṛṣṇa and Saṁkarṣaṇa. Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's mother led the life of a royal *ṛṣi.* The former prides himself over 'having stopped the contamination of the four castes.' A later Sātavāhana king bears the name Yañа Sātakaṇi.

All Purāṇas are agreed that he ruled for 23 years. According to Jain legend the first king, Sātavāhana by name (evidently Simuka), built Jaina temples and *cetiyas.* But in the closing years of his reign he became a wicked king and was dethroned and killed.[18]

Kaṇha I

Simuka was succeeded by his brother Kaṇha.[19] In his time the Sātavāhana kingdom extended as far west as Nāsik if not further. Evidence of the modelling of Sātavāhana administration on Mauryan lines is furnished by the Nāsik inscription of his time, which mentions the construction of a cave by a *Mahāmātra* in charge of the *śramaṇas* or monks (at Nāsik)—*Mahāmātras* are a class of officials mentioned in the Asokan inscriptions. The cave is the earliest excavation in the series, and stands far below the

17. The reference to *Śāttan* in *Śilappadikāram* was pointed out to me by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; but I am unable to follow his interpretation for which see *Jayanti Ramayya Pantulu Commemoration Volume,* pp. 156–8.

18. JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 134.

19. The *Mt., Vā., Bḍ., Bhāg.* and *Vs.* are agreed in calling him the brother of Simuka. According to Rapson this fact fully explains the absence of his name in the Nāṇeghāṭ *relievo* inscriptions (*op. cit.,* p. xix).

other caves. The cells on three sides are decorated with *cetiya* arches at the top of the openings. Of the four pillars that support the roof of the verandah, two are half-pillars and the others are square at the top and bottom, and octogonal in the middle. They have no capital.[20]

According to Rapson, Kaṇha would have reigned for 18 years.[21] *Matsya* has generally *aṣṭādaśa*. But some Mss. of *Vāyu* read *asmāddaśa*.[22] Pargiter has pointed out in the introduction that where there are two readings, one *asmāddaśa* and another *aṣṭādaśa*, *abdāndaśa* would reconcile these different readings.

Siri-Sātakaṇi I

On epigraphic as well as literary (Purāṇic) evidence, the third king of the line is Siri-Sātakaṇi—according to Rapson the Siri-Sāta of the coins, the husband of Nāyanikā, the daughtet of *Mahārathi* Tranakayiro.[23] According to Rapson it is not possible to reconcile the Purāṇic statement that Sātakarṇi I was the son of Kṛṣṇa., the brother of Simuka, with the evidence supplied by the *relievo* figures of Simuka, Siri-Sātakaṇi, and the latter's family.[24] The *relievo* inscriptions mention *Rāya* Simuka, then Siri-Sātakaṇi and his wife, then a *Kumāra* Bhāya.., then *Mahārathi* Tranakayiro, evidently the father of the queen, then Kumāras Hakusiri and Sātavāhana. Most of the *relievo* figures are almost lost, only the legs being partially visible; the rest are completely lost leaving only the space. As will be seen presently, the space for two figures between those of Nāyanikā and *Kumāra*

20. Pl. IV, No. 4.
21. *Op. cit.*, p. lxvi.
22. Pargiter: *op. cit*, p. 39, n. 28.
23. In a Nāsik inscription (EI, Vol. VIII, p 88), Viṣṇudatā, daughter of Śaka Agnivarman calls herself a Śakanikā. In the Poona plates of Prabhāvatigupta (EI, Vol. XV, p. 41, t. 11. 7 and 8), Kuberanāgā, wife of Chandragupta, is said to have belonged to the Nāga tribe. On these analogies the name Nāganikā may indicate the tribe to which she belonged. The Nāga alliance is partially preserved in the Jain legends which make Sātavāhana the son of a Brahman girl and Śeṣa, the king of serpents. (JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 132),
24. *Op. cit.*, xix, n. 4.

Bhāya.., was filled by the figures of Vedisiri and *Kumāra* Satisiri. Then Kaṇha has no place in the *relievos*.

Other results which Bühler and Rapson have arrived at by a comparative study of the *relievo* figures and the sacrificial inscription of Nāyanikā at Nāṇeghāṭ are that queen Nāyanikā was the mother of Vedisiri and Satisiri, and that she governed the kingdom during the minority of Vedisiri. According to them the *Kumāra* Hakusiri of the *relievos* is the Satisirimat of the inscription.[25] True, in the Dravidian Prākṛt of the Sātavāhana epigraphs *ha* sometimes takes the place of *sa*, e.g, Haṁgha=Saṁgha;[26] Hiru-Hātakani=Siri-Sātakaṇi, Hāla=Sāta. But nowhere is *ku* or *ka* used for *ti*. Moreover one would expect Hakuhiru rather than Hakusiri.[27] This seems also to dispose of Bühler's identification of Satisiri with Hakusiri.[28] Further, *Kumāra* Sati has 'sirimato' and not 'siri' suffixed to his name. As *Kumāras* Bhāya.., and Sātavāhana are not mentioned in the sacrificial inscription;[29] and as between the representations of *Kumāra* Bhāya.., and *Mahāraṭhi* Tranakayiro[30] two statues and their inscriptions have disappeared,[31] Nāyanikā would seem to have had more than two sons; it would seem that Vedisiri and Satisiri were represented in the *relievo* figures now lost and that the sacrificial inscription, which mentions only two princes (neither of whom is the eldest son, i.e., *Kumāra* Bhāya), is posterior to the *relievo* figures and the inscriptions over them.

Sātakarṇi: Meaning

Many a prince in the Sātavāhana line bore the name Sātakarṇi, sometimes along with a metronymic and another name,

25. Rapson: *op. cit.*, xx. n. 3.
26. Lüders, *List* Nos. 1210, 1271, 1272, 1281, etc.
27. Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee assures me that the change of 'Saṭi' into 'Haku' is not possible.
28. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 68, n. 2.
29. Bühler would identify the latter with Vedisiri ASWI, Vol. V, p. 68; but Rapson is more cautious, *op. cit.*, xlvi.
30. Pl. I, No. 1.
31. BG, Vol. XVI, p. 611,

and sometimes without one or both of them:—Siri-Sātakaṇi I, Cakorā Sātakarṇi, Mṛgendra Sātakarṇi, Gautamīputra Śri-Yajña Sātakarṇi.

Whilst Rapson's view that sometimes Sātakarṇi was used generally is correct, the example given by him, i.e., the Girnār inscription where Sātakarṇi must mean Puḷumāvi is, as we shall see, rather unfortunate. Better examples are Sivamaka Sātakaṇi called simply Sātakarṇi in the Girnār inscription, and perhaps the Siri-Sātakaṇi of some coins closely allied to Siri-Yaña's coins by type and fabric, as all the successors and immediate predecessors of the latter bear personal names. The Sātakaṇi of the Nāṇeghāṭ *relievos* would seem to have borne a personal name ending in 'siri'. Sātakaṇi was sometimes abbreviated into Sāta, Sāti,[32] Saḍa (Sada?)[33] and Sātaka.[34] Sadakana of the Chitaldoorg coins is a Prākṛt form af Satakarṇa.[35]

The meaning of the term is, however, not settled. Rapson did not attempt to elucidate it. The Purāṇic forms Sātakarṇi, Sātakarṇi, Svātikarṇi, Svātī,[36] Svātivarṇa and Śāntikarṇi show how little the Purāṇic writers understood the meaning of the word

32. EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 318, t, l. 3. Rapson: *op. cit.*, Pl. III, G. P. and Pl. VIII, G. P. 3,

33. Rapson, *op. cit.*

34. ASWI, Vol. V, No. 24, Kaṇhēri Inscriptions. According to Rapson, Sadakana and Sātaka may be forms of Sātakanaṁ (*op. cit.*, lxxxii). As Sāta is an abbreviation of Sātakarṇi or Satakaṇi, as the Banavāsi inscription of Hāritīputra Viṣṇukaḍa-Cuṭukulānanda Sātakarṇi (IA, 1885, p. 331) and the Maḷavaḷḷi inscription of a Kadamba king (EC, Vol. VII, p. 252 and Pl.) make it clear that more than one prince in the Cuṭu line bore the name Sātakarṇi, Sātaka as a form of Sātakaṇi is more probable.

35. 'Sadakana' occurs in a clay tablet from Candravaḷḷi which was exhibited at the Eighth Oriental Conference at Mysore (1935). The reading is mine. The tablet bears the *Triśūla* emblem in the centre.

36. The Purāṇic Svāti is possibly a mis-Sanskritization of Sāti, which, like Sāta, is an abbreviation of Sātakarṇi. Krishna Sastri remarks: "...the name-ending svātikarṇa is more likely to have been the origin of the later Śātakarṇi than the fanciful *śata-karṇa* (the hundred-eared)." (EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 317–18).

Sātakarṇi in Prākṛt. Prof. Jean Przyluski's suggestion that *kanī* is derived from the Muṇda *kon* meaning 'son', and that *Sāta* is the Muṇda 'Sādāṁ' meaning horse, is ingenious, but not convincing. Long ago Mr. Coomaraswamy proposed to identify the *Nūṟṟuvar Kannar* of the Tamil Epic, *S'ilappadikāraṁ*,[37] with a Sātavāhana Sātakarṇi. Since then the Pandits have sought to derive Sātakarṇi from Śatakarṇa (*S'ātakarṇasya putraḥ S'ātakarṇiḥ*). So far as we know Simuka, the father of Sātakarṇi I, did not bear either the name Śātakarṇi. In all the Sanskrit inscriptions in which the term occurs[38] we have Sātakarṇi and not Sātakarṇi. True the Purāṇas spell the word sometimes with Ś and sometimes with *S*. Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* gives the form Śātakarṇi.[39] But the evidence of the inscriptions which belong to the third and fourth centuries A.D. is conclusive. The meaning given by the Tamil annotator cannot therefore be readily accepted. Sāta cannot be connected with *S'āttan* for the reasons stated above. Sātakarṇi would be the name of a descendant of Satakarṇa. Satakarṇa is as curious a name as Kumbhakarna, Lambodara and Jātikarṇa.[40] If we read the name as Śātakarṇa it may mean one with 'a sharp ear'.

It is not true to say that Sātakarṇi is only the dynastic name of both Sātavāhana and Cuṭu families.[41] It was also borne by ministers and ordinary persons. In a Kuḍā inscription[42] a minister bears the name Hāla=Sāta, a contraction for Sātakaṇi.

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37. Pp. 540–41. He figures as a close ally of Śeṅguṭṭuvan ; he is here represented as being prepared to secure for Śeṅguṭṭuvan, a stone from the Himalayas, out of which was to be carved a figure of Pattini.

38. (*a*) *Dakṣiṇāpathapatēs Sātakarṇer dvir api* . . . . ,"—the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 44. i. 12.

(*b*) ". . . . . *prēsubhis-Sātakarṇy-ādibhis* . . . ."—the Tāḷaguṇḍa inscription of Kākusthavarman, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 33. 1. 14.

(*c*) "*Vāsiṣṭhīputrasya Sātakarṇisya*"—Kaṇhēri inscription of the daughter of Mahākṣatrapa Rudra, ASWI, Vol. V, p. 78, Pl. LI.

39. *Vide supra.*

40. Vedic Index, q. v.

41. Rapson: *op. cit.*, Index, V. p. 264.

42. CII, No. 18, p. 15.

In Nāsik No. 3, the preparation of the plates or the cloth or the palm leaves is attributed to a '-takaṇi,' and the lacuna could have contained one letter only. So (Sā) takaṇi is most probable.[43]

Sātakaṇi's Imperial Position

The long record at Nāṇeghāṭ incised during the minority of Vedisiri by the regent Nāyanikā mentions a number of sacrifices performed. Among those mentioned are the Aśvamedha, Rājasuya, Agnyādheya, Anvārambhaṇiya, Gavāmayana, Bhagaladaśarātra, Aptoryāma, Āṅgirasāmayana, Gārgatrirātra, Āṅgirasatrirātra, Chandogapavamānatriratra, Trayodaśarātra, Daśarātra, and some others as the lacunae would show.

Bühler supposes that these sacrifices were all performed by Nāyanikā though he admits that "according to the Śāstras, women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices and that those who perform such sacrifices for them (*striyājaka*) are severely blamed; yet that seems hardly probable for in the sentence which ends with *yañehi yiṭham*, 'the sacrifices were offered,' we have the impersonal passive construction and the genitive *rāyasa*, "of the king'........" Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar objects;[44] "It is inconceivable that Nāganikā, even as queen-regent, celebrated it (the *Aśvamedha*) of her own accord and to indicate her paramount sovereignty........as Nāganikā's husband Śātakarṇi has been styled *apratihatacakra*, it is proper and natural to suppose that it was he who celebrated the sacrifice twice. What appears to be the case is that Śātakarṇi it must be, who carried out the sacrifices referred to in the epigraph, and as all sacrifices are performed by Yajamānas along with their consorts, Nāganikā has been associated with him." The fact that Nāganikā's husband is called *vira, sūra, Dakhiṇā (patha) pa (ti)*, and *apratihatacakra*, and the words '*rāyasa . . . (ya) ñehi yiṭham*' support Bhandarkar's conclusions. After '*caritabrahmacāriyāya dikavratasumdaya yaña huta* .....', '*vano*' appears, and after '*vano*' there is a stop. It is

43. *Pace* Senart who says (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 70): "It is most improbable that we should have to read *Sātakaṇinā*, and it would indeed be extremely puzzling if this royal name were borne by a simple engraver."

44. IA, Vol, XLVII, p. 72, n. 11.

therefore probable that Nāyanikā's part is only the description of the sacrifices performed by her husband, and we know that the record was incised after the death of Siri-Sātakaṇi I. The epithets *dhamadasa, kāmadasa, varadasa, putradasa,* if they apply to Siri-Sātakaṇi, would be another piece of argument in favour of our conclusion.[45]

It would then be that Siri-Sātakaṇi I was a powerful monarch and that most of the sacrifices were performed by him to commemorate the expansion of his empire of which we have evidence from the coins. The Nāṇeghāt record is then the funeral oration of a disconsolate wife.

Sātakaṇi I—Khāravela Synchronism?

According to the Hāthīgumphā inscription, Khāravela, in his second year, sent an army to the west disregarding Sātakaṁṇi. The army reached the Kaṇhabeṇā river and struck terror into the Mūsika capital or city.[46] K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji have shown that the Hāthīgumphā inscription mentions a Yavana king Dimita who was forced by Khāravela's victorious invasion of Northern India to retreat to Mathurā. As he could only be Demetrius I, who on his coins wears the head-dress made of elephant's skin, and who would have come to the throne about 190 B. C., king Khāravela's reign would on this synchronism fall in the second and third decades of the second century B.C., Sātakaṇi I would, according to the chronological scheme adopted here, have regined between 200 and 190 B.C. As Sātakaṇi II would have come to throne in 172 B.C. the synchronism of Khāravela and Sātakaṇi II is as probable as that of Khāravela and Sātakaṇi I.

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45. Bühler's reading '*a (n) āgavaradayīniya*' is uncertain. Neither the *a* nor the *na* is certain.

The epithets '*putradasa varadasa*' etc., cannot apply to Vedisiri as his name is in a compound with *mātuya.* Nor can they apply to *Satisiri-matasa,* as they are too far removed from it.

46. *Dutiye ca vase acitayitā Sātakaṁnim pachima-disam haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulam damḍam paṭhāpayati Kaṅha-beṁṇā gatāya ca senaya vitāsitam M(u)sika-nagaram.*—EI, Vol. XX,; pp. 79.

Hakusiri

An inscription on one of the pillars of the *Cetiya* cave at Nāsik mentions Mahā-Hakusiri and his grand-daughter Bhaṭapālika, daughter of the royal officer (*amaca*) Arahalaya and wife of the royal officer Agiyataṇaka. The early type (i.e. in low relief) of the decoration of the facade, the simple lotus-shaped capitals of the pillars, and the proximity of the cave to that excavated in the reign of king Kaṇha, stamp it as a very early excavation in the series. Senart has pointed out that "if this Mahāhakusiri is the same as *Kumara* Hakvsuri at Nāneghāt, two generations would not be too much to explain the difference in the forms of letters which exists between our epigraph and the Nāneghāt inscription."[47] Bühler[48] assigns the inscription to a very early period and supposes that the change in the characters of its alphabet is due not only to time, but to the development of the 'Malwa and Upper India style.' The fact that the grand-daughter of Mahā-Hakusiri is the daughter of one royal officer and wife of another makes it highly probable that the Hakusiri of this inscription belonged to the royal family and was therefore the *Kumāra* Hakusiri of the Nāṇeghāt *relievos*. But since he does not bear the title of *Rājan* which Sātavāhana kings invariably do, we cannot subscribe to the view of Rapson and Bühler that the Hakusiri of our inscription ascended the throne.

Satisiri

Satisiri mentioned as a son of Nāyanika in the sacrificial inscription was probably represented in the *relievos* between *Kumāra* Bhāya. . . . . and *Mahārathi* Tranakayiro and therefore before Hakusiri. Rapson and Bühler think that he may be the Sakti Kumāra of the Jain legends.[49] It has been shown above that he cannot be identified with *Kumāra* Hakusiri. In the *e Vāyu* and Matsya lists the successor of Satakaṇi I is Pūrṇotsantu (Pūrnotsaṅga or Pūrṇotsarga also in Mt.). As Sāti and Sāta (abbreviations of Sātakaṇi) were incorrectly Sanskritized into Sāntikarṇa or

47. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 92.

48. BG, Vol. XVI, p. 608.

49. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 62, n. 1; Rapson: *op. cit.*, xx,

Sātakarṇa, 'Santu' may likewise be an incorrect Sanskritization of Sāti. (San. Śakti); in that case Satisirimato of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription would be the Pūrṇotsantu of e *Vāyu*.

Skandastambhi

This king, the sixth in the list, is mentioned only in some versions of the Matsya Purāṇa.[50] As will be shown below two or three kings have to be added to the Purāṇic list; and the number of kings is nowhere mentioned to have been more than thirty.[51] Probably some of the names in the first half of the list have to be deleted as imaginary names mentioned to bring up the total to thirty. Skandastambhi's existence may therefore be reasonably doubted.

Sātakaṇi II

If the Purāṇic chronology may be trusted Sātakaṇi II ruled for 56 years,—the longest reign in the annals of the dynasty. From Western India come certain square coins (potin and copper) bearing partially the legends *Raño Sātakamnisa*;[52] some bear the device of the springing lion, others that of an elephant with upraised trunk. According to Rapson they bear a close resemblance in size, shape and types to the coins of Erān (East Malwa). He cites the authority of Cunningham according to whom while the coins of Ujjain are invariably round pieces, those of Bēsnagar (according to him the capital of East Malwa) and Erān are nearly all square.[53] The double line border with the fish and *swastika* symbols are strikingly similar to the device supposed to represent the river Bīṇa on the coins of Erān. The Sātakaṇi of these coins would therefore seem to have ruled over East Malwa. West Malwa, as the Siri-Sāta coins show, had already passed into Sātavāhana hands in the reign of Sātakaṇi I.[54]

50. Pargiter: *op. cit.*, p. 39.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
52. Rapson; *op. cit.*, Pl. I, Nos. 5 to 12.
53. CAI, p. 95.
54. Rapson: *op. cit.*, xcii,

The Sātakaṇi of the coins would seem to have been earlier than Āpīlaka, eighth in the Purāṇic lists. And so he must be No. 6 of the Purāṇic lists. The angular *ta* of the Sātakaṇi coins brings them near the Nāṇeghāṭ inscriptions. But too much reliance cannot be placed on the results arrived at by a comparison of coin legends and stone inscriptions. In the Sātakaṇi coin the *ka* has no nail-head, and has a longer horizontal member than the *ka* of the Āpīlaka coin. East Malwa which, according to Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, was ruled by Agnimitra from Vidiśā would therefore seem to have come under Sātavāhana rule during the reign of Sātakaṇi II, some time between 180 and 130 B.C.

According to Rapson the coins may be those of Gautamīputra or some earlier Sātakarṇi,[55] and the Bhilsa inscription that of the time of Vāṣiṭhīputa Viḷivāyakura, predecessor of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.[56] But the early forms of *ka*, *da* and *ra*[57] in the Bhilsa Tope inscription place it long before Gotamīputa Sātakarṇi's time. The Viḷivāyakuras do not belong to the Sātavāhana line (at least the main line).[58] Morevover, Rapson's conjecture that *Vāsiṭhīputa* applies to the king is not supported by the plate.

Āpīlaka

The authenticity of the Purāṇic lists which mention Āpīlaka as the 8th king has been proved by a large copper coin of this king from the Central Provinces.[59] Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit

55. *Op. cit.*, xcvi,
56. *Ibid.*, xxvii, n. 2,
57. Bühler's Tables III.
58, *Vide supra.*
59. The coin which belongs to the Mahā-Kośal Society was exhibited at the Annual Exhibition of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director-General of Archaeology, who has been kind enough to furnish me with an excellent photograph of the coin (Pl. I, No. 2). About coin No. 3 in his catalogue of coins in the British Museum Pl. I xciv Rapson says : "It is inscribed with Brāhmī characters which are apparently of the same period, (i.e., Satakaṇi I's) but which are too fragmentary to allow of any satisfactory reading, All that can be said is that the name of the king seems to have begun with *Aja*— or *Aji*—. No form occurring in the Purāṇic lists suggests any very

reads the legend as '*rāño siva-siri-Āpilakasa.*' The legend, I think, should be read as '*rāño siva sirisa-Āpilakasa,*'[60] the *i* sign is represented by two short strokes one vertical and the other horizontal attached to the right arm of *pa*. The coin bears the device of an elephant goad. What is above the elephant may be *nandipada*. Dikshit remarks "on numismatic grounds the place of this ruler is more with the later kings of this dynasty than with the earlier ones as indicated in the Purāṇas."[61] But the blank reverse of the coin certainly attests its early age. The early forms of *sa* and

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probable identification, though it is possible that the curious name Āpītaka or Āpilavā which appears early in these lists ... may be a corruption of the name of this king." It is no longer possible to hold with Rapson that Āpilaka is a Purāṇic corruption of a name beginning with Aja or Aji. We have a silver coin from Mathurā with the legends Ajadeva, and bearing the same symbols as our coin, i.e., the swastika with *ma* attached to each of the four arms man standing, and representation of a river with fish swimming in it. On palaeographical evidence this coin belongs to the same period as No. 3 in Rapson's Catalogue.—(Mathurā is the findspot of many Śuṅga coins), and resembles in type and symbols the silver coin of Sumitra, identified with Sumitra of the *Harsacarita*, a Śuṅga prince in whose kingdom Malwa might have been included. (JBORS, 1934, Pl. facing p. 5, No. 2 and the following).

It might be remarked that both the Sātavāhana and the Śuṅga coins from Mathurā bear the same symbols. Rapson thinks that the Aja-coin (lead) is clearly connected by type with the potin coins of Siri-Sāta. Only future research can show whether the Sātavāhanas were indebted to the Śuṅgas or *vice versa*, or whether both were indebted to a particular locality for these symbols.

60. From the numerous forms of the name in the Purāṇas, Pargiter long ago chose Āpilaka of *e Vāyu—op, cit.*, p. 39, n. 45. See Plate IX, No. 3.

This is an instance of an honorific prefix having a case ending in Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins; the only other instance is afforded by the legends on a coin attributed conjecturally by Rapson to Puḷumāvi II (G. P, 3, Pl. *op. cit*), which should be read in the following order: '*samisa s(i) r(i)* (——).' The combination of *sā* and *ā* in *sā* is also curious, the only parallels for this being *Śivadatt-ābhiraputrasya* and *Ābhirasy-eśvarasenasya*. But these occur in a Sanskrit inscription while the legends on our coin are in Prākṛt.

61. YB of the AS of B, Vol. I, 1935, p. 28.

ra which are only slightly developed forms of those of the Siri-Sāta coins, and the primitive *i* sign (a short curve) stamp the coin as an early one in the series. No doubt the elephant is better executed but this is not without a parallel; the lion on Sātakaṇi II's coins is better executed than that on Sakasena's coins.

His reign : Extent of his kingdom

The coin, like the inscriptions, bears witness to a growing empire. In his time the Sātavāhana power would seem to have extended as far north-east as the modern Central Provinces. It is hazardous to build too much on the provenance of a single coin. It is even significant that Sātakaṇi I and II struck potin coins, and potin coins are found "exclusively in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces."[62] The purāṇas are agreed that Āpīlaka[63] ruled for 12 years (*daśa dve* or *dvādaśa*) and that he was the son of Lambodara.

Hāla

From Āpilaka to Hāla (8th and 17th in the Purāṇic lists respectively), we have a period of absolute darkness, and the Purāṇic Sātavāhana kings between them are to us mere names. But it is probable that fresh evidence like the Āpilaka coin may not only confirm the order in the Purāṇic list but also open a vista into the period.

Hāla : Meaning of the name

The king is mentioned by his name in the Purāṇas, the *Sapta-śatakam*, *Līlāvatī*, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, and *Deśīnāmamālā*.[64] In the last two works mentioned, Hemachandra considers Hāla as a variation of Sālāhana and Sātavāhana. In the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* the king under mention is called Hāla, and Sātavāhana. Rājaśekhara

62. Rapson : *op. cit.*, clxxxiii.

63. The Sanskrit form as given in the Purāṇas is the same as the Prākṛt form on the coins.

Like sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi, Āpīlaka does not bear the name Sātakaṇi. Unlike other Sātavāhana kings he has the prefix 'siva' in addition to 'Siri' (Śiva=auspicious).

64. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, V, 712.

also calls him Hāla and Sātavāhana.[65] Hemachandra gives Kuntala and Cauricinda as synonyms of Hāla.[66] But we know from the Purāṇas that Kuntala and Hāla are the names of two different kings. On coins and inscriptions Sātakaṇi is abbreviated into Sāta, Sāti, Sada and Sātaka. No instance of the abbreviation of Sātavāhana is to be found. Hāla cannot then be a variation of Sātavāhana. It can therefore be considered as a variation of Sātakaṇi only. Sāta and Sāti are contractions of Sātakaṇi. The form Hātakani occurs on coins; and *la* is sometimes used for *ta*. Sātakaṇi as a personal name is borne by many a king in the line.

The reign of Hāla introduces us to an epoch of literary activity. From inscriptions we know that the official language under the Sātavāhanas was Prākṛt. The works attributed to or to the time of Hāla show that the Sātavāhanas encouraged the use of Prākṛt in literature. In this respect they played a part opposite to the part played by the *Kṣatrapas*. Only in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta at Nāsik and Kārlā do we have a mixture of Sanskrit. The Sātavāhana son-in-law got some Sanskrit from his father-in-law, and his wife uses Sanskrit in her inscription at Kaṇhēri. But the official records of Gotamīputa and his son Puḷumāvi II at Nāsik and Kārlā are in pure Prākṛt.[67]

Gāthāsaptaṣatī (700 verses in seven chapters), an anthology of erotic verses in Āryā metre and in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt is said to have been compiled by Hāla. Hāla evidently worked on the basis of an earlier anthology by a certain Kavivatsala and unified and embellished it considerably, retaining the names of the original composers in some cases, and adding other verses of his own. The work must have undergone several changes at other hands in subsequent times as its numerous recensions testify. But there is no doubt that its kernel dates from the first or second century

65. *Deśināmamālā*, 8, 66.

66. *Ibid.*, ii, 36, iii, 7.

67. It is however to be noted that the Nāṇeghaṭ record is not in pure Prākṛt as is often imagined. It is in mixed dialect, e.g., *prajapatino* (l. 1)., *apratihatacakrasa* (1.2), *bhāriyā*, (1.4), and *caritabrahmacāriyāya*.

A.D. and that it shows the previous existence of a considerable body of lyrical literature in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛt.[68] In the *maṅgaḷa* or introductory verse adoration is paid to Paśupati or Śiva. Although the verses are said to have been composed by Hāla alone, the commentator's notes mention the following poets as contributors to the work: Bodissa, Culluha, Amaraja, Kumārila, Makarandasena and Śrīrāja.[69] Verses from this work are quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the *Daśarūpaka*, in the *Saraswati Kaṇṭhābharaṇa* and in the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. Bāṇa evidently refers to this work when he says "Sātavāhana made an immortal refined treasure (*kośa*) of song adorned with fine expressions of character like jewels."[70] Merutuṅga in his *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* tells us of Sātavāhana of Pratiṣṭhāna who devoted himself to collecting the compositions of all great poets and wise men; he bought four *gāthās* for forty million gold pieces and had a book made which was a *kośa* of the *gāthās* that he had collected.[71]

Events of his reign

Līlāvati throws some light on the events of Hāla's reign. A theme in the work is the military exploits of Hāla's Commander-in-chief Vijayanaṁda in Ceylon on behalf of his master. The king of the *Sriṅgala dvīpa* by name Sīlamegha had a daughter by name Līlāvatī by his *gāndharva* wife Saraśrī. She lived near Sapta Godāvari Bhīmaṁ which is identified with modern Drākṣārāma. After his military exploits Vijayanaṁda camped with his troops at Sapta Godāvarī Bhīmaṁ, and came to learn all about Līlāvatī. After his return to the capital, he narrates the whole story to his king. Hāla then proceeds to the place, kills the demon Bhīṣāṇana and marries Līlāvatī. After visiting the residence of her father the count returned to Pratiṣṭhāna in Svabhukti *viṣaya*.

68. Verses 3, 698 and 709, ed. Weber.

69. *Prā. Spra.* Sec. 13; Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indischen Literatur,* III, pp. 97–103; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 223–5.

70. *Harṣacarita.* Trans. by Cowell and Thomas, p. 2.

71. EHD, p. 241; JRAS, 1916, p. 819.

CHAPTER IV

THE LATER SĀTAVĀHANAS

(a) Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi

(i) *Metronymics*:—Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani is the first known Sātavāhana king to bear a metronymic.[1] If Sātakani of the Sāñcī inscription is a king later than the sixth in the Purāṇic lists the early Sātavāhanas would not seem to have borne metronymics. Nearly all the successors of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, known to us through lithic records, bear metronymics.[2] It may be noted at the outset that the Sātavāhana metronymics, like those in many primitive communities, were apparently an institution for regulation of marriages and not for descent of property, for the kingdom was, as is shown elsewhere, transmitted in the male line?[3]

The Sātavāhana metronymics are derived from Vedic *gotras*. Gotamīputa means the son of Gotamī or of a lady belonging to the Gotama *gotra*.[4] Vāsiṭhīputa means the son of a Vāsiṭhī. Māḍhariputa means the son of a Māḍharī.[5] It has not been pointedly emphasized by scholars, that the Sātavāhanas and their successors in eastern Deccan, the Ikṣvākus, bear metronymics derived from only the three Vedic *gotras* mentioned above. The Ikṣvāku records offer an explanation for this curious feature. The institution of cross-cousin marriages especially with the father's sister's daughter was the cause. Occasionally a wife might be taken from a new

1. After the materials for a discussion of the views of Bühler and Cunningham had been collected and presented by me, D. R. Bhandarkar's criticism of the old theory appeared in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp 30 *ff*. I have made use of a few of his ideas.
2. The exceptions are *Rājan* Sivamaka Sada of an Amarāvati inscription and Puḷumāvi of the Myākadoni inscription.
3. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. III, p. 321.
4. EI. Vol. VIII, Nasik, No. 2.
5. The Sātavāhanas bear a personal name, or a surname, or both, along with the metronymics : Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, Vāsiṭhīputa Caḍa Sātakaṇi, Gotamīputa Siri-Yaña, etc. We cannot accept Prof. Bhandarkar's remark that he knows of no instance where the metronymic alone without the personal name is mentiond. In some Andher Stūpa inscriptions (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 680, 681, 682 and 683) Vāchīputa and Gotīputa occur unaccompanied by a personal name.

family, e.g., Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śri-Sātakarṇi married the daughter of a Mahārāja of Ujjain, evidently a western Kṣatrapa.

It is interesting to note that the feudatories and successors of the Sātavāhanas in eastern Deccan also bear metronymics. An inscription at Kārlā belonging to the first century B.C., mentions a *Mahārathi* Gotīputa.[6] A *Mahābhoja* of the first century A.D. bears the metronymic Kocīputa.[7] A *Mahārathi* of the second century A.D. bears the metronymic Vāsiṭhīputa while his father bears the metronymic Kosikīputa.[8] Ābhīra Īśvarasena of a Nāsik inscription bears the metronymic Māḍharīputa.[9] The Ikṣvākus bear the Sātavāhana metronymics.

Even as early as Vedic times people bear metronymics like Kauśikīputra, Kautsīputra, Ālambīputra, and Vaiyagrahapadiputra.[10] Pāli canonical literature calls Ajātasattu a Vedehiputta.[11] But it is from Malwa that we get a good crop of metronymics. Two inscriptions from Sāñcī Stūpa III and an inscription from Satdhāra Stūpa II mention a saint Sārīputa.[12] In another Sāñcī inscription an artisan under a Sātakaṇi is called Vāsiṭhīputa.[13] In two inscriptions from the same place a Mogalīputa (Maudgalyīputra) and a Kosikīputa, both of whom are Buddhist saints, are mentioned. In a Barhut inscription of the second century B.C. a Vāsiṭhīputa Velāmitā is mentioned. In another inscription, which begins with 'Sugānaṃ rāje. . . . .' a king is called Gotīputa.[14] But his father and son bear the Vedic *gotra* metronymics Gāgīputa and Vātsīputa. A Bēsnagar inscription reveals a Kāsīputa (Kāsikīputra or Kāśīputra) Bhāgabhadra, perhaps a ruler of Ujjain in the time of Antalkidas. It is also worthy of note that some Pitalkhōrā cave inscriptions of the third century B.C. mention a royal physician by

6. EI, Vol. VII, *Inscriptions from Karle*, No. 2.
7. CTI, Vol. X, p. 17, No. 23.
8. EI, Vol. VII, *Inscriptions from Karle*, No. 14.
9. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 88, No. 15.
10. *Vedic Index*, Keith and Macdonell, q. v.
11. *Barhut Inscriptions*, Barua and Sinha, p. 2. Vaidehi means 'one who belonged to Videha.'
12. Lüders, *List*, Nos, 665 and 667.
13. *Ibid.*, No. 346.
14. As has been suggested by Bühler Gotīputa is Sanskrit Gauptīputra, 'son of a lady of the Gupta race or clan.' Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested that Kotiputa of a Sonari Stupa II inscription (Lüders, No. 158) may be derived from 'Kota' the name of a ruling family whose coins have been found round about Delhi and in the eastern Punjab (EI, Vol. XXII, p, 35).

name Vachīputa (Vātsīputra) Magila.[15] In the case of Malwa metronymics we are thus able to trace three classes of metronymics derived from (a) locality (b) race or clan (c) Vedic *gotras*; and these seem to be used as indifferently as Sātavāhana and non-Sātavāhana metronymics are used among *Mahāraṭhis* of western Deccan.

How did the institution of metronymics enter into the Sātavāhana family? As metronymics are borne by the later Sātavāhanas and not by the early Sātavāhanas, surely it is not the result of the change of father-kin into mother-kin.[16] To go further we have only circumstantial evidence to depend upon. Like the early Sātavāhanas the early *Mahāraṭhis* bear no metronymics.[17] Later *Mahāraṭhis* and later Sātavāhanas bear them, and the *Mahāraṭhis* and the Sātavāhanas were matrimonially connected. The *Mahātalavaras* who are feudatory nobles under the Ikṣvākus and are matrimonially connected with the latter, bear Ikṣvāku metronymics. The Ikṣvakus, originally servants of the Sātavāhanas, certainly got their metronymics from the Sātavāhanas, for do they not bear the Sātavāhana metronymics and are not metronymics quite foreign to the Āndhradeśa?[18] The Ābhīra servants of the Sātavāhanas also bear metronymics. From these facts two conclusions emerge. The feudatory nobles under the Sātavāhanas bear Sātavāhana metronymics and the Sātavāhanas and the Ikṣvākus are matrimonially connected with their feudatories and with one another. In the case of the *Mahāraṭhis* it is not clear whether they gave it to the royal family, or got it from them; for, the first *Mahāraṭhi* to bear a metronymic would on palaeographical evidence have to be assigned to the first century B.C.[19] But, in other cases it is clear that the Sātavāhanas transmitted their metronymics through the channel of marriage as the Ikṣvāku records unequivocally show.[20] The question then arises,

15. CTI, Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7; Pl. xliv.

16. "Whereas a system of father-kin once established is perfectly stable never exchanged for mother-kin, the system of mother-kin is on the other hand unstable being constantly liable to be exchanged for father-kin," Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV, p. 31.

17. Nāṇeghāṭ Inscriptions.

18. The dynasties that succeeded the Ikṣvākus in the Āndhradeśa do not know metronymics.

19. Kārla, *simhastambha* inscription,

20. It has not been noted that while in many cases metronymics and the father's name are mentioned (personal name or *gotra* name), e.g., in the Barhut inscription referred to above, in all the later Sātavāhana records,

could they not have got metronymics through the same channel? It has been shown, that the inscriptions of an early period in the Paithān region and in East and West Malwa, mention metronymics. West Malwa came under Sātavāhana sway in the first decades of the second century B.C., and East Malwa some time between 175 and 125 B.C. It may be that marriages between the Sātavāhana and Kṣatriya noble families, more probably in Malwa, gave these metronymics to the Sātavāhanas.

Bühler held that "the usage of calling sons after their mothers was caused not by polyandria as some Sanskritists have suggested but by the prevalence of polygamy, and it survives among the Rajputs to the present day" and that the surnames of the Sātavāhana queens which are derived from Vedic *gotras* and which form the metronymics borne by their children were originally the *gotras* of the Purohitas of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended and kings were affiliated to them for religious reasons as the *S'rautasūtras* indicate.

The title '*ekabaṁhaṇasa*' applied to Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi[21] and the adoption of metronymics deserved from Vedic *gotras* need not mean that the Sātavāhanas were Brahmins. D. R. Bhandarkar objects to Senart's translation of '*ekabaṁhaṇasa*' as 'the unique Brāhmaṇa,' and adopts that of Sri R. G. Bhandarkar, i.e., '*ekabrāhmaṇyasya*', 'the only protector of Brahmans' and the epithet '*ekabrāhmaṇyasya*' applied to Vīravarman on the Pikīra grant and to Mādhavavarman in his Polamūru grant makes Bhandarkar's interpretation more acceptable. There is, however, no difficulty in looking upon even '*ekabrāhmaṇyasya*' as an eulogistic expression. That the Sātavāhanas were Kṣatriyas is shown by the fact that Gotamī Balasirī styles herself as one who fully worked out the ideal of *Rajarṣi's* wife.[22] According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa,[23] there are three kinds of *ṛṣis*, *Devarṣis*, 'sages who are demigods also,' *Brah-*

the father's name is not mentioned at all. In Nasik No. 2 Vāsiṭhiputa Puḷumāvi refers to his father in the expression *pitupatiyo* (t.l.11) but does not mention his name. In the early Sātavāhana records, the father is mentioned, e.g., Nāṇeghāṭ inscription and the Nasik inscription of the grand-daughter of Mahā-Hakusiri. In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions, ladies usually mention their mothers, brothers and nephews. Only twice is the father's name mentiond (Inscriptions, H & L).

21. EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik No. 2.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 60 t. l. 10,

23. III, 6, 21; Muir: *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, p. 400*n*.

marṣis, 'sages who are sons of Brahmans' and *Rājarṣis*, 'Kṣatriya princes who have adopted a life of devotion.' If the Sātavahanas were Brahmans it would be difficult to explain the absence of *gotra* name in their early records especially in the Nāṇeghāṭ records which gives an account of the sacrifices performed by a Sātavāhana king and queen.[24]

It may be pointed out that this theory is contradicted by the expression 'khatiya dapa madanasa' applied to Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi in Nasik No. 2 itself. According to Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar[25] 'Khatiya' (Kṣatriya) refers not to the Ksatriya caste but to a tribe, the Xathroi of Arrian, placed on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, and the Kṣatriyas of Kauṭilya, Manu *Smṛti* and Ptolemy. In his Girnār inscription Rudradāman refers to the reinstatement of deposed kings and the defeats he inflicted on the contemporary Sātakarṇi. If these were the descendants of feudatories of Nahapāna dethroned by Gautamīputra, might not 'khatiya' of the Nāsik record refer to the Kṣatriya princes deposed by Gautamīputra ?[26]

The results of the foregoing discussion may be summarised as follows:—The Sātavāhanas were Kṣatriyas and bore the *gotras* of their mothers. They got this institution of tracing descent by mothers through intermarriages with Kṣatriya families in certain localities. The system was one for the regulation of marriages and not for the descent of property. The system of cross-cousin marriages explains the occurrence of only a few *gotra* names along with the Sātavāhana names.

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24. In Jain legends Sātavāhana is made the son of a Brahman virgin girl and Śeṣa. JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 132.

25. EI, Vol. XXII, p. 33.

26. In some recensions of the *Viṣṇu Purāna*, Śūdra heads the list of Āndhra kings, instead of Simuka; this is obviously a mistake, for the numerous sacrifices performed by Sātakaṇi preclude us from looking upon Sātavāhanas as Śūdras, for according to Manu, the Veda is never to be read in the presence of a Śūdra (iv. 99) and for him no sacrifice is to be performed (iii, 78).

Brahmans also bear metronymics. The Buddhist teacher Vasubandhu, the son of a Brahman of the Kauśika family, was named Bi-lu-ci Vatsa. Bi-lu-ci was his mother's name and '*vatsa*' signifies 'son' (IA, Vol. IV, p. 143). Two inscriptions from Maḷavaḷḷi (Lüders, *List* Nos. 1195 and 1196) mention Kosikiputa Siri-Nāgadatta of the Koṇḍamāna family and of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra* and Hāritiputa Koṇḍamāna of the Kauṇḍinya *gotra*. In a Nāsik record (Lüders, *List*, No. 1131), a Brahman is called a Vārāhiputra..

(ii) Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi and the Kṣaharātas[27]

In Nāsik No. 2 Gotamiputa is spoken of as the destroyer of the Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas and as the exterminator of the '*Khakharāta-vasa*'. The Jogalthembi hoard has brought to light numerous coins of Kṣaharāta Nahapāna, 2/3 of which have been restruck by Gotamīputra Siri-Sātakaṇi. Nāsik No. 4 and Kārlā No. 19 show him as engaged in conquests.[28] The Sātavāhana records at Nāsik and Kārlā show that the Nāsik and Poona Districts, Ākara, Avanti, Kukura, Suraṭha and Anūpa countries which, on epigraphical and numismatic evidence, would seem to have been included in Nahapāna's kingdom, were conquered by Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi.

Kṣaharāta inroads into Sātavāhana dominions

According to tradition preserved in the Kālakācārya Kathānaka, the Śaka invasion of Western India and Ujjain took place some years before the Vīkrama era.[29] After some time the Śakas are said to have been driven from Ujjain by Vikramāditya, only to return in 78 A.D. The identification of the Śakas of the Kālaka legends with the Kṣaharātas is rendered difficult by the fact that while the son-in-law of Nahapāna is called a Śaka, Nahapāna and Bhūmaka are nowhere so called. Says Rapson,[30] "It is possible ....that the Kṣaharātas may have been Pahlavas and the family of Caṣṭana Śakas." But that they were "of foreign, i.e. non-Indian nationality is certain."[31] In later Indian tradition they might have figured as Śakas, much like the Kuṣāṇas. But it is highly improbable that the Kṣaharātas are included in the 18 Śakas figuring in the Purāṇas as the successors of the Āndhra Sātavāhanas; these eighteen Śaka rulers are doubtless the kings of the Caṣṭana line who ruled up to the time when the earliest *Matsya* account was closed according to Pargiter, C. 255 A.D.[32]

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27. Chaharada, Chaharata, Khabarāta. Khakharāta are various Prākṛt forms of Kṣaharāta.

28. The Nāsik and Kārlā inscriptions of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, the Jogalthembi hoard and Bhūmaka's coins. Also Junnar inscription of Ayama, minister of *Mahākṣatrapa* Nahapāna, Lüders, *List*, No. 1145.

29. CII, Vol. II, xxvi, xxvii. Says Sten Konow, "I cannot see the slightest reason for discrediting this account as is usually done."

30. *Op. cit.*, civ.

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Vide infra.*

Bhūmaka

The earliest known member of the dynasty of Nahapāna is *Kṣatrapa* Bhūmaka, known to us from coins only. According to Rapson, considerations of type and fabric of coins and of the nature of the coin legends leave no room for doubting that Bhūmaka preceded Nahapāna. There is, however, no evidence to show the relationship between them. But the forms of Brāhmī and Karoṣṭhī letters on their coins make a long interval impossible. According to Bhagavanlal Indraji, the fact that Nahapāna's coins are found in 'the coasting regions of Gujarat, Kathiawar and sometimes in Mālwā' proves the Kṣaharāta conquest of Mālwā from the Sātavāhanas and the establishment of Kṣaharāta power in Western India. one coin of Bhūmaka comes from Puṣkar near Ajmer.[33]

Nahapāna

On coins he bears the title *rājan*, and in inscriptions those of *Kṣatrapa* and *Mahākṣatrapa*. The inscriptions of his time, his coins and his titles prove the extension of Kṣaharāta power over fresh territory[34] including north Mahārāṣṭra, the heart of the Sātavāhana empire. The Sātavāhana power must have been confined to the territory around and to the east of Paithān. We do not know how far Nahapāna succeeded in the south, though it seems probable that portions of southern Mahārāṣṭra passed under his sway and had to be reconquered by Gautamīputra. The *Periplus* has preserved something of the Kṣahārata-Sātavāhana struggle in the statements, that the Kingdom of Mambanes[35] (Nambanus—Nahapāna) began with Ariake and that the Greek ships coming in to the Sātavāhana port of Kalyān were diverted to Barygaza.[36]

33. Rapson : *op. cit.*, p. 64 ; CAI, p. 6. Pl. 1.4.

34. *Vide supra.*

35. JRAS, 1916, pp. 836-37, Kennedy says, "the MS is so illegible that it is impossible to restore his (the ruler of Ariake's) name with any confidence. It has been read as Manbaros, Mambaros and Mambanos. Fabricius says that only the final letters (Barou) are certain. Boyer proposed to read Nambanos, and in an essay full of learning and acuteness identified him with Nahapāna ...." (JA, July-Aug. 1897, pp, 120-51) Kennedy thinks that like Pandion and Kerebotros the name of the ruler of Ariake may be a general designation. But Sandanes (Sundara) and Saraganes (Sātakarṇi) are personal names. Dr. Fleet has shown how Nahapāna could have been misread into Mambanes (JRAS, 1907, p. 1043 *n.* 2).

36. Schoff: *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 43 and 52.

(iii) Comparative Chronology of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and Nahapāna

Prof. Rapson refers the dates in Nahapāna's inscriptions (years 41, 42, 45 and 46) to the Śaka era (78 A.D.). According to him the evidence of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, Nāsik No. 2 and Nāsik No. 4 issued from a victorious camp, and the ascertained date (Ś, 72) of Rudradāman show that Gotamīputa was the conqueror of Nahapāna. "... it would seem improbable that Nahapāna's reign could have extended much beyond the last recorded year 46=124 A.D. Gautamīputra's conquest of Nahapāna seems undoubtedly .... to have taken place in the 18th year of his reign. We therefore have the equation :—Gautamīputra's year 18=124 A.D., or 124 A.D.+x. On this synchronism, on the recorded regnal dates in the inscription of other Andhra sovereigns, and on the known date 72=150 A.D. of Rudradāman as Mahākṣatrapa rests at present the whole foundation of the later Andhra chronology."[37]

Cunningham proposed to refer the dates in Uṣavadāta's and Ayama's inscriptions to the Vikrama era; Rapson objects to it and quotes, "the empirical remark" of Kielhorn that "in the majority of the Śaka .dates the term year is rendered by varṣa" and that in "the inscription of the Western Kṣatrapas...... the word for 'year' everywhere is varṣa .....".[38]

It may be noted here that the unit figure in Kārlā No. 19 read as 8, by Rapson has been read as 4 by Bühler. Senart thinks that it may be any number between 4 and 9.[39] A study of the inscription from the stone itself and of an impression of it taken by me, shows that 7 is more probable than any other figure. No doubt it would then be a later form of the symbol for seven. But it is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson or 4 as read by Bühler since it is quite unlike the symbols for 8 and 4.[40] This would show that Gautamīputra's conquests were accomplished at least in part in or before the year 17.

Since Rapson wrote, the Andhau inscriptions of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman's time (year 52) have been studied and edited by

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37. *Op. cit.*, xxvii.

38. IA, Vol. XXVI, p. 153.

39. EI, Vol. VII, p. 65.

40. The symbol for 4 appears in the same inscription.

scholars like D. R. Bhandarkar and R. D. Banerji.[41] The Andhau inscriptions shatter the theory of the Gotamīputa-Nahapāna synchronism. Scholars are not agreed as to whether the inscriptions should be referred to the joint reign of Caṣṭanā and Rudradāman, or the reign of Rudradāman. In all the four inscriptions we have: '*Rāño Caṣṭanasa Ysāmotika-putrasa, rāño Rudradāmasa Jayadāmasa putrasa vasa* 52 . . . ' Prof. D. R. Bhāndarkar originally thought that *pautrasya* (which the construction would not allow us to insert) had been omitted. But later[42] he states that Mr. R. C. Majumdar of the Calcutta University has kindly offered the suggestion that the date had better be referred to the conjoint reign of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman," R. D. Banerji objects: "Apart from the possibility of such an event in India, nobody having ever thought or tried to prove conjoint reigns of two monarchs except Messrs Bhandarkar, there is sufficient evidence in the Andhau inscriptions themselves to prove that the author of the record was quite ignorant as to the exact relationship between Chāshṭana and Rudradāman . . . . the Andhau inscriptions are the only records known which mention Chāshṭana or Rudradāman as *Rajās* and not as *Mahā-Kshatrapas.* The only possible explanation of this is that in a remote place like Andhau on the Rann of Cutch the people were not aware of the new titles of the new dynasty of rulers, titles on which Rudradāman set great store. . . . . The cause of the absence of any word or phrase indicating the relationship between Chāshṭana and Rudradāman now becomes clear."[43] There is many a weak link in this argument. In the genealogical portion in all other inscriptions of the Western *Kṣatrapas* of the Caṣṭana line, the great-grandfather is mentioned first, then the grandfather, then the father and then the son. In the Andhau inscription the names of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman precede those of their fathers. one cannot believe that the people of cutch who knew the relationship between Ysāmotika who does not seem to have been even a *Kṣatrapa* and Caṣṭana did not know the relationship between the latter and Jayadāman. On his coins Nahapāna is known as '*rājan*' only. Does it mean that the people were ignorant of his titles of *Kṣatrapa* and *Mahākṣatrapa* which he bears in the inscriptions of his son-in-law and minister? The objection to the joint rule of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman does not seem to be well taken; for as Rapson has observed: "Among the later Western Kṣatrapas we find

41. JBBRAS, Vol. XXXIII; EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 19 *ff.*; A.R. for 1915.

42. IA, Vol. XLVII, p. 154 *n.* 26.

43. EI, Vol. XVI, p. 22–23.

the father and son ruling concurrently as Mahākṣatrapa and Kṣatrapa." This would explain why Jayadāman bears only the title of *Kṣatrapa.*[44]

If then Caṣṭana was a *Mahākṣatrapa* in the year 52 (130 A.D.) with Rudradāman as *Kṣatrapa,* he must have been a *Mahākṣatrapa* during the reign of his son Jayadāman as *Kṣatrapa.* As on the testimony of the coins Caṣṭana was a *Kṣatrapa* for some time, if Nahapāna's dātes are referred to the Śaka era, a three years' interval between Nahapāna and Caṣṭana is the utmost that can be postulated. Even taking for granted that Nahapāna was defeated in year 46 itself (124–25 A D.), we are led to the paradoxical conclusion that a year after the rooting out of Khakharāta race and the destruction of the Śakas, Pahlavas and Yavanas, Caṣṭana was on the scene avenging Śaka defeat.[45] The Nāsik record of Balasirī which mentions in such glorious terms Gotamīputa's conquests of Anūpa, Ākara, Avanti, Suraṭha, Kukura, Asaka and Muḷaka would become a record of a fleeting conquest. Was then the '*Sātavāhanakulayaśāpratiṣṭhāpana*' referred to in an inscription incised 25 years after the event such a shortlived glory?[46] Ptolemy's (139 A.D.) statement that Ozēne was the capital of Tiastanes (Caṣṭana), and the Andhau inscriptions which show that Cutch was in possession of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman in 130 A.D., are clear proofs of the re-establishment of Śaka power in the lands between Mālwā and Cutch at least.[47] It has been pointed out by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

44. Rapson's view that between the reigns of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman there was an interval during which there was no *Mahākṣatrapa* and that this may have been the result of a defeat, is no doubt partly based upon the fact that Jayadāman, bears only the title of *Kṣatrapa.*

45. The theory by Bühler in JRAS 1890 that Nahapāna and Caṣṭana were contemporaries was abandoned by him later. ASWI, Vols. IV and V.

46. Says Rapson, *op. cit.*, xxxvii: "Rudradāman's conquest took place c. 150 A.D., and before the 19th year of Puḷumāvi. The inscription of Balaśrī seems to be a record of glory which has only recently passed away."

47. R. D. Banerji (JRAS, 1917, pp. 286–87) not only holds with Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar (JBBRAS, Vol. XXIII, pp. 68–9) that Rudradāman had conquered all the dominions mentioned in the Girnār *praśasti* before Ś. 52, but also says that it would not have been possible for Rudradāman to conquer Aparānta (N. Konkan) without conquering north Mahārāṣṭra (Nāsik and Poona districts). We cannot subscribe to these views. The former lacks conclusive proof. The identification of Muḷaka and Aśmaka with N. Mahārāṣṭra, and the absence of their mention in the Girnār *praśasti* are conclusive arguments against the latter.

that there is nothing in the inscriptions of Puḷumāvi's time to show that his dominions had shrunk so much in their area as the Andhau and Girnār inscriptions would show. The silver coin of Vāsiṭhīputa [Hi]ru Hātakaṇi (or ni), (Siri-Satakaṇi) which like similar coins of Siri-Yaña would seem to have been current in Aparānta, and the Kaṇhēri inscription of Rudradāman's daughter, prove that Aparānta was held by the son-in-law of Rudradāman, a successor of Puḷumāvi.

The chronological scheme of Rapson requires that Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi should be the son-in-law of Rudradāman and the Sātakarṇi of the Girnār inscription twice defeated in fair fight by him. I was fortunate enough to trace in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, a silver coin of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi; this closely imitates as regards type, size and weight the silver coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas. And we have the Kaṇhēri inscription of Vasiṣṭhīputra Sātakarṇi's queen, the daughter af Mahākṣātrapa Rudra (dāman). These make it difficult for us to identify a king who, on coins and in inscriptions, is called Sātakarṇi, with Puḷumāvi who does not bear the surname Sātakaṇi either in inscriptions or on coins. He must therefore be a successor of Puḷumāvi. In the Purāṇic lists Śivaśrī, the Vāsithīputa sivā Siri-Sātakaṇi of the coins, figures as the successor of Puḷumāvi (perhaps his brother). As 'siva' and 'siri' are honorific prefixes, no insuperable difficulty is involved in the identification of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi with Vāsiṭhīputā siva Siri-Sātakaṇi. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has rightly pointed out that it is improbable that Puḷumāvi, who according to Ptolemy was a contemporary of Caṣṭana, married the latter's great grand-daughter.

The Sātakarṇi of the Girnār inscription

As Rudradāman is said to have defeated Sātakarṇi not distantly related to him *sambamdhāvidūrayā (ratayā)*, the Girnār Sātakarṇi is to be sought for in one of the successors of Siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, not for removed from the latter in point of time. In the Purāṇic lists Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi (the Sivamaka Sada of an Amarāvatī inscription) and Siri-Yaña figure as his successors. The difficulty in identifying the Girnār Sātakarṇi with Siri-Yaña is that Puḷumāvi would then have to be placed between 86 and 110 A.D., while the contemporaneity of Caṣṭana and Puḷumāvi mentioned by Ptolemy would bring Puḷumāvi to 130 A.D. at least. So the Girnār Sātakarṇi must be Sivamaka (Śivaskanda) Sātakarṇi, probably a brother or nephew of Śiva Śri-Sātakarṇi. Working

backwards with the ascertained regnal periods of these Sātavāhana kings we get the following scheme of chronology:—

Gotamīputa Sātakani	...	82—106 A.D.
Vāsiṭhiputa Puḷumāvi	...	107—131 A.D.
Śiva Śrī-Sātakarṇi	...	132—145 A.D.
Sivamaka Sada	...	146—153 A.D.

It now becomes still more impossible to place Nahapāna between 119 and 124 A.D.

Then how are the dates in the inscriptions of Nahapāna's son-in-law and minister to be interpreted? In 1908 R. D. Banerji revived a point[48] made by Prof. Bhandarkar years before that Uṣavadāta's inscriptions are palaeographically earlier than that of Śodāsa of the year 72, and added, 'it is extremely probable that as Nahapāna is prior to Śoḍāsa the dates in his inscriptions refer to the era in which the dates in the inscriptions of the Northern satraps are dated.' Subsequently[49] he refers these dates to the regnal years of Nahapāna. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has lately revived Cunningham's theory[50] that Nahapāna's dates must be referred to the Vikrama era. His arguments are as follows:

The letters of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions resemble those of the inscription of the Northern Satrap Śodāsa and Bühler admits that in the former southern peculiarities are wanting. The discus, arrow and thunderbolt on the coins of Nahapāna and Bhūmaka remind us (as V.A. Smith has pointed out) of the coins of Hagāna and Hagāmāṣa, the Northern Satraps. In EI. Vol. XIV, Dr. Sten Konow has referred the year in Śoḍāsa's record to the Vikrama era. Rev. H.R. Scott has observed that the letters on the coins of Nahapāna belong to the near middle of the period from 350 B.C. to 350 A.D. ". . . the state of Kharosthi on Nahapāna's coins . . . seems now to secure for him a place distinctly earlier than Caṣṭana.', The Uṣavadāta *bha*, *va*, and *sa*, *a* and *ka* with longer verticals than those of Śoḍāsa *a* and *ka*, the more angular *ja*, *da* with better curved back and the ornate *i* sign, show that Uṣavadāta alphabet was later than Śoḍāsa alphabet. Conclusions based on similarity of alphabets and the northern affinities of Nahapāna's family cannot be final; as Sten Konow has observed, "We do not know for certain in which era the Śoḍāsa inscription of Saṁ 72 is dated. I do not think it can be the same as

48. IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 43.

49. JRAS, 1917, p. 285.

50. *Op. cit.*, pp. 650 *ff.*

in the Taxila plate of Saṁ 78. I think that Patika, who issued that record, is identical with the Mahakshatrapa Pādika of the Mathurā lion capital which mentions Śuḍāsa i.e., Śoḍāsa as Kshatrapa." A comparison of coin legends with stone inscriptions cannot yield safe conclusions. The palaeography of the Andhau inscriptions renders an interval of more than 160 years between the Girnār inscription and the inscription of Uṣavadāta, as, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri would postulate, too long. Noteworthy are the form of *a ka ra* and *pa* which approach those of Uṣavadātā alphabet. The state of Kharoṣṭhī on Caṣṭana's coins does not point to a long interval between them, for, as on Nahapāna's coins, and on the silver coins struck by Caṣṭana as Kṣatrapa, Kharoṣṭhī is used to transliterate the Brāhmī legends in full. It is only on coins struck by Caṣṭana as *Mahākṣatrapa* that Kharoṣṭhī shows decline—it is used only for the genitive of the king's name. This fact points to a rapid decline of Kharoṣṭhī rather than to a long interval.[51]

The development of the Brāhmī alphabet in the Nāsik and poona districts in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. makes a long interval between Nahapāna and Gautamīputra highly improbable. According to Bühler there is a striking similarity between the alphabet of the Nāsik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and Uṣavadāta.[52] Prof. Nilakanta Sastri rejoins 'it is a similarity which is only to be expected if the area of their location had been ruled by the Khakharātas for some time before Gautamīputra recovered it for the Sātavāhanas.'[53] The Nāsik alphabet of Puḷumāvi's time especially *ca, ja, da, na*, and *ṇa*, (with a slightly curved base), *ta, bha, ya, ha* (with a notch at the left), which is more developed than the alphabet of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi's inscriptions, deprives this argument of its force. The Nāsik inscriptions of Gotamīputa Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi only three generations later than those of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi show letters of the ornate type. The Kārlā inscription attributed to Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi is not only engraved immediately below that of Uṣavadāta, but also shows only slightly developed forms over those of Uṣavadāta's inscription (e.g., *ta, pa, bhi, va, ra*, and *ma*). In the inscriptions of the time of Puḷumāvi

51. According to Rapson on the copper coins of Nahapāna, only the name Nahapāna in Brāhmi legend can be deciphered. "It is uncertain whether or not this was accompanied by an inscription in Kharoṣṭhi characters." *Op. cit.*, cix.

52. IA., xxxiii, *App. Ind. Pal.* pp. 42–43.

53. JRAS. 1926, p. 652.

the ornamental type has appeared.[54] The quick and distinct development from Gotamīputa to Puḷumāvi of the alphabets at Kārlā and Nāsik does not allow us to place a long interval between Nahapāna and Gotamīputa.

The Jogalthembi coins of Nahapāna, more than two-thirds of which are restruck by Gotamīputa, point to the same conclusion. If Gotamiputa defeated a remote successor of Nahapāna, we would have found in the hoard, coins of Nahapāna's successors restruck by Gotamīputa. The coins of Bhūmaka show, that among the Kṣaharātas other princes than Nahapāna, if they existed, would have struck coins; and there is more point in restriking the coins of the vanquished ruler rather than those of a remote predecessor of his.

The village of Karajaka which is granted by Gotamīputa to the monks of the Kārlā caves is surely the Karajaka granted to them previously by Uṣavadāta. Nāsik No. 4 records the grant of a field in western Kakhaḍi, a field which was held by Uṣavadāta. Bühler and Bhagwanlal Indraji look upon *ajakālakiyam* in the phrase '*ya khetam ajakālakiyam Usabhadatena bhūtam*' as a Prākṛt form of *a'akāla* (Sans. *adyakāla*) and translate 'the field which has been possessed by Rṣabhadatta up to the present time.' Senart looks upon it as the name of the field.[55]

Lüders' No. 795 where Ajakālaka is the name of Yakṣa makes Senart's suggestion extremely probable. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri denies that the Uṣavadāta of No. 4, the possessor of a single field, was the Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna. But it is not impossible that Uṣavadāta held all the fields in the village and that Gotamīputa gave one field to the monks retaining the rest for himself.[56]

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54. EI, Vol. VII, Pl. III, No. 20.

55. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 72.

56. It is, however, risky to look upon Uṣavadāta as a rare name, and identify all the Uṣavadātas of epigraphic records with the son-in-law of Nahapāna. 'Datta' as a name ending is very common and 'Rṣabha' often enters into the composition of names (EI, vol. XVI, p. 24; Lüders *List*, Nos. 56, 69*a*). A Śailārwādi inscription (Śailārwādi is near Kārlā) mentions Uṣabhaṇaka native of Dhenukākaṭa.

An inscription in a pillar of the Kārlā *Cetiya* cave records the donation of a pillar by Mitadevaṇaka, sons of Uṣavadāta from Dhenukākata. According to Senart, the 'mita' in the name of the donor and that of Rṣabhadatta's wife (*i.e.*, Dakṣamitrā) supplies 'a link which may perhaps

The guiding points in the determination of Kṣaharāta chronology are the short-lived reigns of Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21 in the Purāṇic lists of the Āndhras (44–54 A.D.) and reference to Mambanes in the *Periplus*; the kingdom of Mambanes (corrected by Schoff into Nambanus and identified with Nahapāna) is said to have begun with Ariake, which according to Lassen would represent the territory on either side of the gulf of Cambay. Scholars like K. P. Jayaswal have challenged this identification.[57] But as Nahapāna is known to have ruled over Surāṣṭra and as the seaboard of the kingdom of Mambanes was, according to the *Periplus*, Surastrene, and as the capital of Nambanus, *viz.*, 'Minnagara' also shows Scythian or Śaka associations (Min=Scythian) this identification is highly probable, and Schoff has shown that a consideration of the authorities Roman, Parthian and Arabian fully supports 60 A.D. for the *Periplus*, and Nahapāna would seem to have been ruling 22 years before the accession of Gautamīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi.

The question whether Nahapāna's dates should be referred to an era or to his regnal years, is not then so important as it might be if we had no independent grounds to fix his date. The old view that it is dangerous to assume the existence of eras other than the Vikrama and Śaka eras is not accepted by Dr. Sten Konow.[58] The years may then refer to an era which started somewhere in the closing years of the first century B.C., or in the beginning of the first century A.D. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri has admirably met Rapson's objection to referring the '*vasa* dates' to any other than the Śaka era. He says, ". . . . .it must be noted that there are very few dates in these records, and even among these few, we are unable to trace any consistency in the manner of dating. An important inscription at Nasik is undated; only the year and month is mentioned in another, though the day of the month is also added elsewhere in the same inscription. The use of *varsha* for year does not seem to have been so rare in early dates that are not in the Śaka era."[59] R. D. Banerji's view that these dates must be referred to the regnal years of Nahapāna is supported by

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connect them." The absence of the usual epithets applied to Nahapāna's son-in-law makes the Uṣavadāta of this inscription a different person. The pillar inscription and the *Cetiya* cave would seem to belong to the first century B.C.

57. JBORS, 1932, p. 9.

58. CII, Vol. II, Introduction.

59. *Op. cit.*, p. 656.

the numerous coins of Nahapāna and by the tradition preserved in the *Paṭṭāvaḷi Gāthas* and Jinasena's *Harivaṁśa* which assign a period 40 and 42 years respectively to Naravāhana (a corruption of Nahapāna).[60] Rapson makes Nahapāna a feudatory of the Kuṣāṇas, on the strength of the mention, in a Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta, of *suvarṇas* which according to him must refer to the gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas "which we must suppose to have been current or prevalent in Nahapāna's kingdom."[61] But *suvarṇa* as a coin was prevalent in India as early as the Vedic times;[62] the *suvarṇa* under reference need not necessarily refer to the gold currency of the Kuṣāṇas.

Prof. Bhandarkar[63] has advanced another argument for connecting Nahapāna with the Kuṣāṇas. To him the Kuśaṇa of Nāsik No. 12, "appears to have been (the name) given to the silver coinage of Nahapāna, because he issued it for his overlord who must have been known as Kuśaṇa *i.e.*, Kushana." He continues 'Was there any Kushana king who was also known by the mere name Kushana? Certainly this must be the Kushana sovereign referred to in the Taxila scroll inscription of the year 136....... I have elsewhere shown that he can be no other than Kujula Kadphises, or Kadphises I as he is also known." Apart from the objections to *kuśaṇa* being a form of Kuṣāṇa, or Guṣāṇa, the sense of the passage does not admit of Bhandarkar's interpretation. In line 2 *civarika* and *kuśaṇamūla* are mentioned together as the purpose for which the money was invested in a guild. In line 3 we have '*civarika-sahasrāni be* 2000 *ye paḍike sate eto mama leṇe vasavuthāna bhikhunam visāya ekikasa civarika bārasaka, yā sahasra prayutaṁ pāyūnapaḍike śate ato kuśaṇamūla.*' But though the evidence cited for Kuṣāṇa overlordship over Nahapāna cannot be relied upon, the chronological scheme adopted here makes Kuṣāṇa overlordship not improbable (Kujula Kadphises 50–75 A.D.)

60. Rapson remarks (*Op. cit.*, ex): "Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrāji supposed that the portraits of the Nahapāna on the silver coins indicated a very long reign; but now that a vast number of Specimens are available for comparison, it is clear that no such conclusion can be safely drawn from these representations of the king's head.............. They cannot possibly have been portraits, in the true sense of the word, of any single individual............"

61. CIC, *Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas*, clxxv.

62. *Vedic Index*, Keith and Macdonell, *Suvarṇa Yajña* q. v.

63. IA, Vol. XLVII. p. 76.

(iv) Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi cannot be identified with Gotamīputa Viḷivāyakura of the coins

A number of lead and copper coins, from Kolhāpur have revealed to us the names of 3 princes: on the evidence of restruck coins the order would be as follows:

Vāsiṭhīputa Viḷivāyakura
Māḍharīputa Sivalakura
Gotamīputa Viḷivāyakura.

The current theories about these princes are far from being satisfactory. Says Rapson,[64] Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura "are probably local titles in the dialect of the district of Kolhapur ..... The question remains whether these peculiar titles are to be regarded as the designations of members of the imperial Andhra Dynasty or of viceroys governing the district of Kolhapur. Although the question cannot be decided with certainty, the former view is perhaps the more probable, since there is some evidence to show that Andhra monarchs were known by different titles in the different divisions of their empire (*cf. sup.* § 48, 50)." Long ago Sir R. G. Bhandarkar said that Viḷivāyakura and Sivalakura are names of the feudatories whilst metronymics are those of their suzerains.[65] The metronymics attached to the names of *Mahārathis* are not those of their suzerains—the Sātavāhanas.[66] The father of a *Mahārathi* who dates his inscription in the regnal years of Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi, bears a metronymics not borne by the Sātavāhanas *viz.*, Kosikīputa. 'Kura' as a name appears in Bhaṭṭiprolu. Sivala as the name of a queen occurs in one of Barhut inscriptions,[67] and at Amarāvatī we come across an *upāsikā* Sivalā. *La* is a common ending in names, *e.g.*, Bhadila, Bhāyila, Droṇala, Sivakhadila Buddhila, Sarpila, and Rudrila;[68] *Viḷavaṇaka* is the name of a village.[69] Regarding Ptolemy's mention of Puḷumāvi of Paithān and Baleokuros of Hippokura (identified by R. G. Bhandarkar with Viḷivāyakure), Rapson remarks that his Siri-Puḷumāvi and Viḷivāyakura might be one and the same person. "A foreigner might be excused for not knowing, that in our own country, the Prince

64. lxxxvii-lxxxviii.
65. EHD, 1927, p. 30.
66. Kārlā No. 14, EI, vol. VIII.
67. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut* p. 131; Lüders, *List*, No. 1268.
68. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 125*a*, 149*a* 1124, 1247, 1292 and 1054.
69. EI, Vol. XV, pp. 41 and 43.

of Wales, the Earl of Chester and the Duke of Cornwall were the same person." But Ptolemy mentions the capital 'Hippokura' (a 'kura' ending in the name of the capital too!), which has been identified by Bhagwanlal Indraji with the modern Goḍabandar. To accuse a contemporary of ignorance we require strong proofs. In seeking to identify these princes with the Sātavāhana rulers Rapson places too much reliance on metronymics, yet we know that the Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku metronymics were borne by their feudatories, the *Mahārathis* and the *Mahātalavaras*. Rapson's identification upsets the order of Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāvi among the Viḷivāyakuras; and Māḍharīputa Sivalakura has no place between Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi and Puḷumāvi in the Purāṇic lists.[70] Prof, Rapson himself points out that the Ujjain symbol which is employed by all the later Sātavāhanas on all their coins is not found on the Kolhāpur coins[71] and that the 'bow and arrow' on these coins is nowhere found on the Sātavāhana coins. To a certain extent the type (the tree within railing) and size of these coins (lead) resemble those of the Cūṭu and *Mahārathi* coins.

The pieces of evidence which make it probable that they were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas are that one of the Viḷivāyakuras was a contemporary of Puḷumāvi, that Gotamīputa's dominions extended as far south as Vaijayantī and that they used Sātavāhana metronymics. The title 'rājan' does not prevent them from having been feudatories, for Nahapāna, who was undoubtedly a feudatory, bears the title 'rājan'.

(v) Gotamīputa's empire

To return to Gotamīputa, he would seem to have wrested from the Kṣaharātas not only the ancestral dominions, but something more. The epithet '*Sātavāhana-kula-yasa-patithāpana-kara*' applied to him is no idle boast, for before his reign, the Sātavāhana power would seem to have suffered considerable loss of territories. According to Rapson, the countries which are mentioned in Nāsik No. 2 as having been under his sway, "in no way represent the extent of his empire." "The names themselves are those of the kingdoms which had submitted to Gautamīputra".[72] Rapson is evidently thinking of the Āndhradeśa. Not all the conquered kingdoms would seem to have been mentioned, e.g., S. Mahārāṣṭra as far south

70. *Op. cit.*, xl.
71. *Op. cit.*, clxvi-clxviii.
72. *Op. cit.*, xxxv, xxxvi.

as Vaijayanti (Nāsik No. 4 speaks of the Vejayantī army as '*senāye Vejayamtiye*'). Even so the extent of his kingdom is indicated by the mountains of which he is said to have been the lord—the western and eastern portions of the Vindhya range (Vijiha and Pāricāta), the Satpura hills extending through the middle of Berar nearly into west Bengal (Achavata), the northern and southern portions of the Western Ghāṭs (Sahya and Malaya respectively). There is then no epigraphic evidence to show that Gautamīputra's sway extended over the Āndhradeṣa.[73] The reference to his chargers having drunk the waters of three oceans need not necessarily mean that his kingdom extended from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal.[74] The most important countries mentioned are Asaka, Muḷaka[75] (Northern Mahārāṣṭra) Asika, Kukura (Eastern

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73. A life-size statue of a person, in the Madras Museum Amarāvati collections, holding a lotus in the left hand, bears the inscription *Gotami nama* (o*). From the dress we can infer that it is not a statue of the Buddha. Even supposing that the inscription records an adoration to Gotamī, the mother of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani, it is possible that during the reign of Vasiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi (when the Amaravati *Stūpa* underwent alterations and perhaps enlargement) a statue of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi was set up; and from Nāsik No. 2 (in which both grandson and grandmother have eulogised Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi) we know that Gotamī Balasirī was living in the 19th year of her grandson's reign.

74. In Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* (Trans. Cowell and Thomas) the Sātavāhana contemporary of *Bhikku* Nāgārjuna is styled "lord of the three oceans" (p 252).

75. In the Sona-Nanda Jātaka (Fausboll, Vol. V, pp. 317, 24; and 318, 6). Asaka and Avanti are mentioned together (*Assakāvantim; Assakāvantim ti Asaka raṭṭham va Avantiraṭṭham va* etc.). For the precise identification of Asaka (Sans. Aṣmaka not Aśvaka. Pāṇini mentions Aśmaka iv, i, 173) and Muḷaka a clue comes from an unexpected quarter. Verse 1011 of the Sutta Nipata (*Aḷakassa Patiṭṭhanaṁ purimaṁ*) mentions Patiṭṭhana of Aḷaka and verse 977 mentions Aḷakā as a country in the neighbourhood of Assaka (Asaka), a country on the banks of the Godāvarī. (So *Assakassa visaye Aḷakassa samāsane vasī Godavarikūle uñcena ca phalena ca*) But in three manuscripts (a MS in the Phayre collection in the India Office Library, a Burmese MS in the Royal Asiatic Society, London, and a MS in the Mandalay Collection of the India Office Library) it reads as Mūḷaka or Muḷaka. Muḷaka is made more probable by the following facts. Asaka and Muḷaka are mentioned together in the Nāsik No. 2. According to the Purāṇas Muḷaka was the son of Aśmaka of the Ikṣvāku line. (Wilson *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 382). Patiṭṭhana is modern Paithān on the banks of the Godāvarī; as Assaka is said to have included Godāvarī there is no doubt that N. Mahārāṣṭra, at least the Nāsik district and the territory around Paithān, is to be identified with Asaka and Muḷaka; see also IA, Vol. XLVII, p. 150 *f.n.*

Rajputana) Ākara (East Malwa), Avanti (West Malwa), Suraṭha (Surāṣṭra), Anūpa (a district in the upper Narmadā), Vidarbha ("the western part of modern Berar and the valley country west of that")[76] and Aparānta (N. Konkan).[77]

(b) Puḷumāvi II.[78]

Gotamīputa was succeeded by his son Puḷumāvi who according to the inscriptions would seem to have ruled for 24 years at least. The Purāṇas assign him a period of 28 years. Since they assign only 21 years to Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi who from inscriptions is known to have ruled for 24 years, it is probable that the Purāṇic total 49 has to be divided between them as 25 and 24 or 24 and 25.

Messers R. G. and D.R. Bhandarkars' theory of the conjoint rule of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi and Puḷumāvi

The theory of the conjoint rule of Puḷumāvi and his father, which was proposed by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar long ago, did not find a single supporter. As it has been restated by Prof. Bhandarkar as late as 1914 and 1918. a discussion is necessary.[79] According to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar the Purāṇic discrepancy in the matter of the duration of the Sātavāhana dynasty (Mt. "460 years, Va 411 years and Viṣṇu 300 years) is to be explained by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the regins of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty".[80] According to V. A. Smith this discrepancy arises on account of some of the Purāṇas omitting the Śuṅga and Kaṇva years (112+45) or the latter from the Sātavāhana total.[81] The other arguments of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar repeated by Prof. Bhandarkar are :—

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76. Pargiter: *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 335.

77. For a detailed discussion of these names BG, Vol. XVI; EI, Vol. VIII; Rapson: *op. cit*., and Bhandarkar's EHD.

78. His name is spelt as Puḷumavi on coins and in Nāsik Nos. 3 and 20 and Kārlā No. 20; as Puḷumāyi in Nāsik Nos. 1 and 2 and Kārlā No. 20; and as Puḷumai in Nāsik No. 25. Puḷumāyi would seem to be the right, form to start from. Rapson thinks that Puḷumāyi like Viḷivāyakura is a name whose meaning is not clear.

79. JBBRAS, Vol. XXXIII, *Epigraphic Notes and Questions*; IA, 1918, *Dekhan of the Sātavāhana period*.

80. EHD, p. 26.

81. ZDMG, 1902, p. 6.

(a) In Nāsik No. 2 dated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi II, Gotamī Balasirī is called *Mahārājamātā* and *Mahārajapitāmahi*. This statement would be pointless if she were not *both* at one and the same time.

(b) Gotamīputa is called 'Dhanakaṭasāmi' (Dhānyakaṭaka-svāmi) in No. 3 and Puḷumāvi ruled at Paithān. It has been shown elsewhere[82] that *Dhanakaṭasamanehi* refers to Dhanakaṭa monks or *samaṇas* and that Dhanakaṭa cannot be a form of Dhaṁñakaṭaka. In No. 4 Gotamīputa is called 'Benākaṭakasāmi.' Every queen is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king. In the Nāṇeghāṭ record Sātakaṇi I is eulogised and yet he was dead when the record was incised. In the inscription Puḷumāvi makes over the merit of the gift to his father in the expression '*pītupatiyo*.' Such an application of merit can be made only in favour of a deceased person.[83] As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has asked,[84] why should not the queen who refers to her son as one living (*jīvasūtāya*) in No. 5 dated in the 24th year of Gotamīputa refer to him so in No. 2? According to M. Dubreuil the inscription is the funeral oration of a disconsolate mother.

(c) If it was a fact that Gautamīputra was dead when the cave temple was dedicated and Puḷumāvi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. It is improbable that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence. It will be shown below that the cave with all its cells was planned even during the reign of Gotamīputa, but executed only in part. Balasirī completed the cave later and made it equal to the cave of Uṣavadāta,[85] son-in-law of Nahapāna, whose dynasty Gotamīputa had extirpated; then the train of thought suggested to a mother explains this puzzling fact.

The arguments adduced by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar are:—

1. Since Puḷumāvi is a contemporary of Caṣṭana, who died before year 52 (130 A.D.) and since the dates in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Ayama are to be referred to the Śaka era, we should postulate a theory of conjoint rule if we are not to run into

82. Chap. II.

83. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 65.

84. JRAS, 1926, *The Later Sātavāhanas and the Śakas.*

85. Nāsik No, 2.

chronological absurdities or impossibilities. Bhandarkar himself has admitted that Caṣṭana was living when the Andhau inscriptions were incised; it has been shown above that the inscriptions of Nahapāna's reign must belong to a time before 100 A.D.

2. If cave No. 3 was granted in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi's reign, and if in the year 24 his father Gautamīputra speaks of it as his own gift, is not the conclusion irresistible that Gautamīputra was living when the cave in question was made over to the Buddhist monks, i.e.' in Puḷumāvi's 19th regnal year, and that the year 24 of the other inscription although it records, a donation of Gautamīputra must be referred not to his, but to Puḷumāvi's reign? No. 2 dated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi records a non-official or private grant by the queen, while No. 5 (dated in the 24th year) like No. 4 is an official grant. What stamp No. 4 and No. 5 as official records are the order of the king to the officer in charge of the district where the object of the grant lay, and the mention of the formalities connected with the grant, i.e., oral order, drafting, preparation of the charter, preservation in the archives of the State and delivery. Nāsik No. 2, where neither the order of the king nor the formalities conected with grants are mentioned, is then a non-official record. The grant of the cave and lands by Gotamīputa mentioned in Nos. 4 and 5 must be different from the grant of the same cave by Balasiri. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has admirably pointed out that all official grants open with the order of the reigning king and end by giving the date, while in all private records (at Nāsik and Kārlā) the date is mentioned at the beginning. He concludes that Nos. 4 and 5 must therefore be referred to Gotamīputa's reign.[86]

But how can one cave be granted by two persons at different times? The statement that Balasirī made the cave equal to the mansion in Kailāsa and the plan of the cave give us the clue. Gotamīputa who emulates Uṣavadāta in his grant of lands to the Nāsik and Kārlā Buddhist monks would certainly have planned a cave as beautiful, perhaps more beautiful than Uṣavadāta's cave (and in general appearance and arrangement the Queen's cave resembles that of Uṣavadata). According to. Prof. Nilakanta Sastri, the raised verandah with a bench at the left end and two cells, one at the right and the other at the left end, show that the verandah with its two cells and the bench was a self-sufficient unit and was

86. *Op. cit.*, p. 650. It may be pointed out that in private records of the Ikṣvāku period the date comes at the end.

completed in or before the 18th year of Gotamīputa. The 18 cells in the interior, the verandah pillars, the frieze and the ornamentation over the doorway were executed by Balasiri, and the whole cave donated in the 19th year of Puḷumāvi. An examination of the projection before the verandah however makes it highly probable that the verandah of the original cave stood there.

If Gotamīputa and Puḷumāvi ruled conjointly, we would have found at least one inscription mentioning them together (the Andhau inscriptions mention Caṣṭana and Rudradāman) as ruling conjointly, and Prof. Nilakanta Sastri has pointed out that Nahapāna's coins restruck by Gautamīputra are sufficient 'to shatter' Bhandarkar's theory. His inscriptions and coins leave no doubt that during his reign Sātavāhana power was as its height.

His dominions

There is nothing in Nāsik No. 2 to indicate that Puḷumāvi had lost any part of his father's dominions before the 19th year of his reign. (125 A.D.). The Amarāvatī inscription of his time[87] and the find of his coins at Guḍivāda and Amarāvatī, in the Godāvari district and on the Coromandel coast, show that his sway extended over the Āndhradeśa, and further south. The Andhau inscriptions prove that the Śakas had, between 125 and 130 A.D., taken advantage of the preoccupation of the Sātavāhana empire elsewhere to recover some of their lost possessions.[88]

(c) Siva Siri-Sātakaṇi

The Purānas mention siva Siri-Sātakaṇi as the successor of Puḷumāvi.[89] He is certainly to be identified with the Vāsiṭhīputa siva Siri-Sātakaṇi of the coins from Āndhradeśa. As has been shown above he is the Vāsiṣṭhīputa Śri-Sātakarṇi of the Kaṇhēri inscription and therefore the son-in-law of Rudradāman. He must also be identified with the Vāsithiputra Catarapana Siri-Sātakaṇi of the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription.[90] According to Prof. Rapson '.... it is impossible to determine whether this king Vāsiṣṭhīputa Catarapana Sātakarṇi is a member of the dynasty otherwise unknown, or whether he should be identified with one of the three kings who

87. Lüders. *List* No. 1248.

88. According to R. D. Banerji and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, all the lost possessions had been recovered by the year 52.

89. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, 71 *f.n.* 18.

90. JBBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 313*ff.*

about this time bear the same metronymic on their coins'.[91] In this latter case, if the length of the reigns is correctly given by the *Matsya Purāna*, he can only be identified with Puḷumāvi; and 'Catarapana' or 'phaṇa' must be regarded as a local title, somewhat of the same character, perhaps, as 'Viḷivāyakura.'[92] It may be suggested tentatively that Catarapa like *Chatrapa* can be a form of *Kṣatrapa* on the analogy of Prākṛt *Cula* instead of *Chula*, for Sans *Kṣudra* and Cāṁtamula for Chāṁtamūla (Sans. Kṣāntamūla). Catarapa would be a form of Chatarapa (*Kṣatrapa*); sometimes the 'aṇaka' ending in names is shortened into 'ana,' *e.g.*, Viramna for Viramṇaka (Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription F.). Catarapana would be a form of Catarapaṇaka. The name Chatarapana (Kṣatrapaṇaka) now becomes intelligible. It could only have been borne by the son-in-law of Rudradāman. A Silver coin bearing the legends *Vāsiṭhīputasa* and the Head of the King on the obverse[93] and the legends (. . . . . .) *Hātakaṇiṣa Ārakh* (. . .)* is to be attributed to the son-in-law of Rudradāman, as it is modelled on *Kṣatrapa* coinage. If the title may be restored as *Ārakhita*, it is possible to connect it conjecturally with *Kṣatrapa*. This makes the identification of Vāsiṭhīputa Catarapana Sātakaṇi with the son-in-law of Rudradāman probable. The coin legends exhibit a variety of the Brāhmī alphabet in association with the Prākṛt usually found in inscriptions and on coins. This fact explains the Dravidian 'aṇaka' ending in the name Catarapana.[94]

(d) Sivamaka Sada (Satakaṇi)

After siva Siri-Sātakaṇi the Purānas with great unanimity place a Śivaskanda-[95] An Amarāvatī inscription which is later than Puḷumāvi's time mentions a Sivamaka Sada. As the palaeography of the inscription would give Sivamaka a place corresponding to

91. Bhagwanlal Indraji was correct in his estimate of the period to which the inscriptional characters belong (second century A.D.).

92. *Op. cit.*, xli.

93. There is also a trace of *sa*: *vide supra* for other details of this coin. Pl. I, No. II,

94. The use of two varieties of Brāhmī alphabet and two different dialects on coins is perhaps a intimation of the use of Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī and Greek on the coins of the Western *Kṣatrapas*.

* The peculiar *ha* according to Rapson approaches the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *ha*. It is perhaps the Kharoṣṭhī *ha* inverted; it may even be connected with the cursive *ha* on the *Kṣatrapa* coins.

95. *vide supra.*

the Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas, we have to take it that by some process which is not now traceable Sivamaka was transformed by the Purāṇic writers into Śivāśrī, and Rapson is inclined to identify him with the Śivaśrī of the Purāṇas. Sivamaka as the name of Sātavāhana is quite probable. In Kuḍā No. 6, Sivama as a personal name occurs,[96] and in the Sātavāhana official records *Śiva* often enters into the composition of the names of officials under them. *Ka* as a suffix to personal names is also common in the records of the Sātavāhana period, *e.g.*, Sivaka, Saghaka.[97]

(e) Māḍharīputa Sakasena[98] Sātakaṇi

But for the find of coins bearing the legends Saka Sada (Sakasena Sātakaṇi (*vide supra*), the inclusion of his name in the list

96. Dhanama in Nāsik No. 25 (EI. Vol. VIII), is another instance of a name with a *ma* suffix. For the Kuḍā inscription see ASWI, Vol. IV.

97. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1177 and 1189.

98. This king bears the title 'sāmi.' Though Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakani bears the title Benākaṭakasāmi his son Puḷumāvi is the first among the later Sātavāhanas to bear the honorific prefix 'sāmi' in addition to the usual 'siri.' Puḷumāvi's successors Māḍharīputa Sakasena, Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi and Caḍa Sāti bear it. In the Chinna Ganjam inscription Siri-Yaña bears the titles of 'araka' and 'siri.' Therefore 'araka' would seem to be a prefix identical in meaning with 'sāmi' (lord). Since Nahapāna and his successors, princes of the Caṣṭana line, regularly bear the title 'svāmin', it may be asked whether the later Sātavāhanas did not borrow the prefix 'sāmi' from the *Kṣatrapas*, Since in a Deotek inscription a 'sāmi' (lord, king) addresses his official (*amaca*) at Cikambarī, we have to cry halt to such a conjecture. The eye copy of the inscription compared with the estampage of the inscription recently prepared by Prof. Mirashi, and exhibited at the Oriental Conference at Mysore (1935) furnishes the following reading:

   1. *Sāmī aṁñapayati Cikambari-sa sa*
   2. *hanaṁto bamdhamto vā tasāradaṁ kururādheva*
   3. *Amacāna la-naṁnaga*
   4. *Dato lego* (*kho*) *he pa l di 4 badho*

   (The eye copy is in Cunningham's CII, vol. I, old series, p. 102 and Pl. XV)

In the paper read before the conference (*Proceedings*, pp. 613–22) the Professor called it an Asokan inscription. But the later forms of *ta ca*, and *da* (in *dato*), *ya*, and the angular *pa*, make it difficult for us to subscribe to the Professor's views. Cunningham was nearer the truth when he opined that the inscription was not earlier than the first century B.C. The inscription would seem to be a Sātavāhana inscription for the following reasons :—

In the first century B.C. and even earlier the Sātavāhanas were in possession of East and West Mālwa. The inscription is dated in the Sātavāhana fashion by the seasons and fortnights. It also beings like the later

of our kings would have been rendered difficult, for do not his metronymic and personal name draw him nearer to Māḍharīputra Īśvarsena, the Ābhīra? Even so he cannot be identified with any of the kings of the Purāṇic lists; we have to depend on the palaeography of the two Kaṇhēri inscriptions of his time. Their alphabet so closely approaches the alphabet of Siri-Yaña at Kaṇhēri that it is probable that one closely succeeded the other. But we are not in a position to determine who preceded whom. Whilst the looped *ta* (ll. 10, 12 and 13), and the rounded *va* (as opposed to the triangular *va* in No. 14), and the more cursive *ha* in No. 15 stamp it as later than No. 14, the other letters stamp Sakasena's inscription (No. 14) as earlier than Siri-Yaña's (No. 15). No. 14 which was incised on the 10th day of the 5th fortnight of the rainy season on the 8th year of the king, records the excavation of a cave by a merchant and householder, the son of Veṇhunaṁdi an inhabitant of Kalyāṇa along with his father, brother and mother (Bodhisamā). The other inscription (No. 19) records the excavation of a cave by Hālanikā, wife of the donor in the previous inscription.

Like Siri-Yāña, Māḍharīputa Sakasena Sātakaṇi ruled over both western and eastern Deccan. This fact also places him before Caṇḍa Sātakarṇi who would seem to have ruled over only the eastern Deccan. His coins bearing the lion device have been picked up in the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvari districts. The 'sena' ending in his name makes it probable that he was a son of siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, the son-in-law of Rudradāman.

(f) Gotamīputa Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi

His relationship to siva Siri-Sātakaṇi and Sivamaka Sada cannot be ascertained. Formerly Bhagwanlal interpreted the reverse legends on his silver coins in such a way as to make him the son of Catarapana.[99] Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar interprets it so as to make him the father of Catarapana.[100] "But there can be no doubt that

Sātavāhana inscriptions. The formalities connected with the grant are also Sātavāhana (*dato*, lego and *badho*). To add to these there is the title 'sāmi.' It is noteworthy that Mādharīputa Sakasena has only the prefix 'sāmi,' the usual prefix 'siri' being absent. For this reason Bhagwanlal would read 'siri' for 'saka' in the inscriptions. But the second letter is only *ka*. What looks like i sign over the first letter in Burgess' impression may be only an accidental stroke. The omission of 'siri' may be likened to the omission of sāmi' in some of the inscriptions of Puḷumāvi II.

99. JBBRAS, Vol. XV, p. 306.

100. JBBRAS, Vol. XXIII, p. 66.

this reading and interpretation are incorrect. The rest of the *rev.* legend agrees word for word with *obv.* legend; but all that can be said about the doubtful word, which was read as '*Caturapanasa*', is that it was one of five or six syllables, the last two only of which are legible with certainty, and that it was probably the equivalent to the first word of the *obv.* legend—Raño."[101]

His inscriptions at Kaṇhēri, Nāsik, Chinna Ganjam, his silver coins of Sopāra fabric, his numerous coins from Kṛṣṇā and Godāvarī districts, his potin coins from the Chanda district (Central Provinces), clearly show that he not only maintained the eastern possession but also wrested from the Western *Kṣātrapas* Aparānta and North Mahārāṣṭra.[102]

The Chinna Ganjam inscription dated in the 27th year of his reign shows that the Purāṇas are probably correct in assigning him a reign of 29 years.

In the *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa refers to a mendicant by name Nāgārjuna who was brought to Hell by the nāgas; he begged for (a wreath of pearls) from the snake King as a gift and received it. When he went out of Hell he gave it to a king, his friend, *i e.*, Sātavāhana, "the lord of the three oceans." Cowell and Thomas say that the latter therefore ruled over *Jambudvipa*, *Plakṣadvipa* and *Śāmaldvīpa.*[103] The Nāsik record of Balasirī makes it clear that the three oceans or seas are the seas to the west, east and south of the South Indian Peninsula. Hiuen Tsang refers to Nāgārjuna P'usa, a contemporary of the king styled Sha-to-p'o-ha or Leading Light (Yin-Leng). The latter quarried for him a monastery on the mountain Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, 300 *li* to the south-west of the capital of South Kośala. His date is variously given as 700, 500 and 400 years after the death of the Buddha.[104] Says Watters, "the names of the kings Kanishka and Kilika, of Vasumitra, Asvaghosha, Kātyāyanīputra, Dharmagupta, and Rāhulabhadra occur in the writings ascribed to Nāgārjuna, and we may with some probability assign him to the third century A.D." (we may say even to the end of the second century A.D.). Since the probable date of Nāgārjuna coincides with that of Siri-Yaña and

101. Rapson *op. cit.*, xci.

102. If Māḍharīputa Sakasena came between Siri-Yaña and Sivamaka Sada, the credit for recovering the Aparānta would go to him.

103. p. 252 *f.n.* 1

104. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, p. 204

since Siri-Yaña would seem to have been the last great Sātavāhana king to rule over eastern and western Deccan, he may be the Sātavāhana contemporary of the P'usa Nāgārjuna. Māḍharīputa Sakasena has equally good claims.

(g) Vāsiṭhīputa Caḍa Sāti

Prof. Rapson identifies Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Caḍa Sāti of some coins from the Godāvari and Kṛṣṇā districts with the Skandasvāti of the Purāṇas on the score that he is closely connected with Puḷumāvi II by the type of his coins and metronymics;[105] according to the same scholar Caḍa Sāti of some lead coins is probably the Caṇḍaśrī who occupies the last place but one in the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas. It has been shown the Śivaskanda Sātakarṇi of the Purāṇas is the Sivamaka Sada of the Amarāvatī inscription. 'Cada' is a variant of 'Caḍa' much like 'Ruda' and 'Ruḍa'.[106] The Kodavolu inscription dated in the regnal years of Vāsiṭhīputa Caḍa Sāti makes two Caḍa Sātis improbable.[107] If the Purāṇic account can be relied upon, the Ābhīras would seem to have risen to power in North Mahārāṣṭra 15 years before the rise of the Ikṣvākus, i.e., about 193 A.D. This makes it probable that the western dominions of the Sātavāhanas were lost during his reign. His Kodavolu inscription shows that during his reign Kalinga or a part of it came under Sātavāhana sway.

(h) Puḷumāvi III

An inscription from Myākadoni (in the Bellary district) recording the construction of a tank by a certain householder, resident in the village of Vepuraka[108] under *Gāmika* Kumāradatta, in the S[ā]tavāhani-hāra under *Mahāsenāpati* Khaṁdanāga, is

105. *Op. cit.*, xl.

106. Rapson: *op. cit.*, p. 46.

107. The inscription records a donation by an officer (*amaca*) and is dated in the second year of Cada Sāti, the Caṇḍaśrī of the Purāṇas. What is read as '*amacasa bhūmiveśa*' by Sten Konow should be read as '*amacasa bhūmikhaśa*'. Bhūmika is perhaps the name of the *amaca*.

108. Vepuraka may be tentatively identified with Virāpuram in the Adoni Taluq. Veparla in the Haḍgaḷḷi taluq and Virāpuram in the Haḍagalli and Rayadrug taluqs have good claims to be identified with Vepuraka in as much as Haḍagaḷḷi would also seem to have been included in the Sātavāhani-hara or Sātāhani raṭṭha. The Chilla(le)rekakodumka of the Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi inscription of Śiva-Skandavarman is perhaps Chillakaladona in the Adoni taluq.

dated in the 8th year of a Siri-Puḷumāvi of the Sātavāhana family (*raño Sātavāhanānaṁ s[i]ri-Puḷum[ā]visa*). Mr. V. S. Sukthankar who has edited the inscription[109] has identified Siri-Puḷumāvi with Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi, son of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi. The absence of the metronymic and the honorific prefix 'sāmi' which are always borne by the son of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, and the alphabet of the Myākadoni inscription, which approaches that of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jagayyapēṭa inscriptions, make it highly probable that the Puḷumāvi of this inscription is the last of the Sātavāhanas in the Purāṇic lists.[110] True, the Purāṇas assign him a period of 7 years. But this fact presents no insuperable difficulty. Gotamīputa Sātakaṇi ruled for 21 years according to the Purāṇas. Yet we know from epigraphic evidence that he ruled for at least 24 years; Vāsiṭhīputa Catarapana Sātakaṇi ruled for at least 13 years; yet the Purānas assign him a period of 7 years only!

Since all Purāṇic lists stop with Puḷumāvi it is highly probable that he is the last representative of the great dynasty.

109. EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 151*ff.*

110. Following V. A. Smith, Sukthankar makes out four Puḷumāvis in the Purānic dynastic lists (Nos. 15, 24, 26 and 30 in the Matsya List). In fact the Purāṇas mention only three Puḷumāvis. The line '*Sivaṣrir vai* Puḷoma *tu saptaiva bhavitā nṛpaḥ*' must be translated as: "after Puḷumāvi Śivaśrī will be king seven years" and not as "Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi will be king 7 years" if we accept the reading '*Pulomāt tu*' (Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 71, *f.n.* 18).

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS IN THE SĀTAVĀHANA EMPIRE

Royal Succession

The Sātavāhana polity conformed to the rule laid down in the *Śāstras*; its keystone was the sovereign. Monarchy was hereditary. Though the Sātavāhanas bore metronymics, though they do not mention their fathers in their inscriptions, succession was always reckoned in the male line.[1] The expression '*kulapurisa-paraparāgata*' in which the term '*purisa*' implies, according to Senart, 'descent by males', is corroborative evidence in the same direction.[2] Generally the eldest sons inherited the crown. It is remarkable that though polygamy seems to have been the rule, we have no evidence, either in the lithic records or in the Purāṇas, of disputed successions.[3] During the minority of the Crown-Prince[4], especially in times of stress, succession passed on to the brother of the late king. Kaṇha Sātavāhana, brother of Simuka,[5] the founder of the dynasty, would seem to have come to the throne during the minority of the latter's son. Sometimes the Queen-mother assisted by her father acted as the regent and according to Bühler performed some sacrifices[6] like kings.

The King

The King was the commander in war and led his armies personally to the battle-field. The detailed instructions issued to *amacas (amātyas*, governors of provinces)[7] bear testimony to the

1. The Purāṇa texts and Nāsik No. 3 make this clear; also among the *Mahārathis* bearing metronymics, titles and office pass from father to son (Lüders, *List*, No. 1100).
2. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 63.
3. *Vide supra.*
4. All princes are called *Kumāras*. The Pallava practice of calling the Crown-Prince *Yuvamahārāja* and of associating him in the administration of the country is unknown to this period.
5. *Kṛṣṇo bhrātā yavīyāṃstu aṣṭādaśa bhaviṣyati.*
6. But it has been shown above that the sacrifices mentioned in the Nāṇeghāṭ inscription were performed by Siri-Sātakaṇi.
7. Kārlā No. 19, EI, Vol. VII.

effective control exercised by the king over officers in every part of the empire; and kings were not merely content with issuing orders. They took the necessary steps for realising their intentions. It is no wonder that in a simple administrative machinery as the Sātavāhana one, the king was powerful both in theory and practice.

But the king was no capricious Sultan. As the guardian of the social and religious order, his "fearless hand" was to be "wet by the water poured out to impart fearlessness." He was to prevent "the contamination of the four castes." The true father of his people, he should "sympathise with the weal and woes of his citizens" and "never employ taxes except in conformity with justice". He was to be the "furtherer of the homesteads of the low as well as of the twice-born".[8] He should properly "devise time and place for the triple object of human activity." A king educated in these precepts among a moralising people would have been more than human if he had escaped the obsession of this conception of his duties. Moreover he was aided by ministers some of whom were confidential ministers (*viśvāsya amātya)*.

It has been shown that Dr. Bhandarkar's theory of dual monarchy is unproven and improbable.[9] But sometimes kings associated their mothers with them in the administration of their country. Nāsik No. 5[10] (dated in the 24th year) is a joint order of Gotamī Balasirī and her son Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, to the officer in charge of the Govadhanahāra. Prof. Rapson attributes this arrangement to the failing health of the King. It might have been so. It might also be, that the absence of the Queen-mother's name in Nāsik No. 4 (dated in the 18th year) is to be attributed to the fact that it was issued from a military camp in Govadhanahāra,[11] whilst the other was issued from the capital. If so, the arrangement might have been due to reasons other than ill-health. A Kaṇhēri inscription speaks of a confidential minister who executed certain works, and of the queen

8. EI, Vol. VIII, pp. 61-62.

9. *Vide, supra.*

10. EI, Vol. VIII.

11. According to Senart, the genitive Govadhanasa is better construed with *skandhāvārāt* than with Benākaṭaka. 'The sequence of words would then appear somewhat less regular; but the presence of another genitive, *senāye Vejayaṁtiye*, may have caused *Govādhanasa* to be placed after *khaṁdhāvārā.*'

of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śrī-Sātakarṇi. Unfortunately the inscription is mutilated and the missing words may show us the part she played in the government of the empire.[12]

Feudatories

(*a*) *Petty Princes*.—The administration of the empire was carried on by the agency of ordinary officials, and feudatories, *i.e.*, petty princes, the *Mahāraṭhis* and the *Mahābhojas*. Kolhāpur and the district around it would seem to have been governed by a line of princes with Dravidian associations (2nd cen. A.D.). That they were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas is made clear by the following facts:—Ptolemy places one of these princes in the time of Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi; their coins are found at Kolhāpur. Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's empire included lands as far south as Vaijayantī, and Kolhāpur is north of Vaijayantī; these princes bear Sātavāhana metronymics. Like the Kṣatrapas of the Khakharāta and Caṣṭana line they bear the title of *rājan*. Rājan Cuṭukaḍānaṁda and Rājan Muḍānaṁda of the coins from Kārwār in North Kanara according to Rapson belong to the same period as the *Mahāraṭhi* of the Chitaldoorg coins (lxxxvi), a period long before that of the Cuṭu kings of inscriptions (lxxxv). From the fact that Rapson has included these coins in the catalogue, it may be inferred that he considers them as feudatories of the Sātavāhanas.

(*b*) *Mahāraṭhis and Mahābhojas*.—Rapson and Senart consider the derivation of the term *Mahāraṭhi* uncertain.[13] The analogous titles, *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahādaṇḍaṇāyaka*, leave no doubt that the prefix *mahā* denotes an officer of higher rank. The word[14] 'raṭhi' connects it with the Raṭṭhika of Asoka's and

12. No. 11, ASWI, Vol. V.

13. JRAS, 1903, p. 297 EI, Vol. VII, p. 49.

14. The orthography of the inscriptions Nāṇeghāṭ, Kaṇhēri, Beḍsā, Kārlā No. 2 (EI, Vol. VII) and Chitaldoorg coins (except Bhājā No. 2) (CTJ) and Kārlā No. 14 (EI, Vol. VII) is 'raṭhi' and not 'rathi.' E. Senart thinks that *ṭhi* is probable in Kārlā No. 2 and *th* probable in Kārlā No 14, l. 1; but an examination of the stones makes the *ṭhi* certain in No. 2 and very probable in No. 14, l. 1. Since in the numerous inscriptions there is not one instance of a mistake of *tha* for *ṭha* and 'raṭhi' occurs more often than 'rathi', the former is the proper form to start from.

The terms 'Raṭhi' (Rāṣṭrin) and Raṭhika (Rāṣṭrika) have the same meaning. Also the elision of *ka* in 'Raṭhi' may be compared with the elision of it in Bhoja of Asoka's edicts (the Bhojaka of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela).

Khāravela's inscriptions; what is more striking, the *Mahārathis* are as much associated with the *Mahābhojas* as the Raṭṭhikas with the Bhojas *(Bhojakas)*.[15]

The *Mahārathi* and *Mahābhoja* inscriptions are in western India; and the Raṭṭhikas and Bhojas of Asoka's inscriptions are to be sought for in western India.[16]

Asoka's inscriptions mention the Raṭṭhikas and the Bhojas in the plural along with border peoples like the Āndhras, the Pulindas, Kāmbojas and the Yavanas. These terms would therefore seem to refer to tribes or peoples. Raṭṭhika (Rāsṭrika) means "ruler" or "governor of a province." In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Raṭṭhika implies a hereditary office.[17] The *Raṭṭhikas*[18] and *Bhojakas* of the Hāthīgumphā inscription would seem to be local chiefs, since, when referring to Khāravela's conquest of them, it mentions the smashing of their coronets, helmets, umbrellas, etc.—insignia of a ruler.[19] According to the *Aitareya Brhāmaṇa* and the *Mahā-*

15. The Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela (EI, Vol. XX, p. 79 l. 6); in Asoka's edicts the Raṭṭhikas are not mentioned with the Bhojas, but the Petenikas are mentioned with the Raṭṭhikas in R. E. V. and with the Bhojas in R. E. XIII; see also Beḍsā No. 2, CTI; and Kaṇhēri Nos. 15, 24, 29. ASWI, Vol. V. The proximity of the Thāṇa and Kolābā Districts, which would seem to have been held by the *Mahābhojas*, to Poona and the surrounding districts, held by the *Mahārathis*, should also be noted.

16. Unlike the Āndhras and the Pulindas, the Raṭṭhikas, Bhojas and Petenikas are called "the western borderers" (R. E. V. Girnār, t. l. 5; Śāh. t. l. 12).

17. The *Pañcakaṁmapāṭa* in the *Nīvaraṇa-Vagga* mentions as *Mahānāma Kulaputtas*, annointed Kings, *Pettanika-Ratthikas*, *Senāpatis*, *Gāmagāmanikas* and *Pūgagāmaṇikas*. D. R. Bhandarkar is of opinion that 'Pettanika', which is explained in the commentary (Indices, Vol. VI) as '*Pitarā dattam sāpateyam buñjati*', is an adjective qualifying Raṭṭhika. *Pettanika-Raṭṭhika* therefore means 'hereditary *Raṭṭhika*.' *Yadivā* which separates *Senāpati* from *Gāmagāmaṇika* and the latter from *Pūgagamaṇika* does not separate *Raṭṭhika* from *Pettanika*. This is the only argument in favour of his view though he does not mention it. He is also of opinion that *Raṭṭhika-Pitinikeṣu* and *Bhoja-Pitinikeṣu* of Asoka's inscriptions also mean 'among hereditary *Raṭṭhikas*' and 'among hereditary *Bhojas*'. The parallel cases of *Aṁdha-Pulideṣu* and *Yona-Gaṁdhāra-Kāmbojeṣu* make such an explanation improbable; and in *Śāḥ* V., we have *Rastikanaṁ Pitinikanam*.

18. These coupled with the fact that in Asoka's inscriptions Pitinika is the regular form makes the identity of the Pitinika of Asoka's inscriptions with the *Pettanika* of *Aṅguttara Nikāya* problematical.

19. Lüders translates '*sava Raṭhika-Bhojake*' as 'of the Provincial and local chiefs'.

bhārata, the term Bhoja denotes a prince.[20] In a Mahāḍ inscription a Kāṇabhoa (Kāṇabhoja) is called a *Kumāra*, a title applied to princes (CTI, No. I.). If 'bhojaka' of the Hira-Haḍagaḷḷi plates can be taken to mean "free holder" it can by a stretching of the meaning, imply a local ruler or chief.[21] In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, it means 'village headman.' It is probable that these titles have a geographical or ethnical meaning. For all that we know, it may be that the ethnical meaning started from the official title.

The important place assigned to *Mahāraṭhi* Tranakayiro father of Nāyanikā, wife of Sātakaṇi I,[22] (2nd century B.C.), a place just below that of the Crown-Prince and above that of the two younger princes may give the clue to the origin of the title. In the days of their service under Mauryan suzerains, the predecessors of Sātakaṇi I must have been in a close alliance with the powerful *Raṭhikas* of the west, a source of strength for them; they would have enlisted *Raṭhika* help in their *coup d'etat*. The *coup d'etat* being successful, the *Raṭhikas* would have been given a higher title and status, but they had to exchange Mauryan suzerainty for the Sātavāhana. The silken bond of marriage which made and unmade empires in Mediæval Europe must have been forged to strengthen Sātavāhana imperialistic position.

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20. *Ait. Brāh.* VIII, 12, 14, 17.
Śānti Parvan, chapter LXVIII, S. 54.

Rājā bhojo virāṭ saṁrāṭ
kṣatriyo bhūpatirnṛpaḥ |
ya ebhih stūyate śabdaiḥ
kastam nārccitumarhati ||

21. In the Ait. Brāh. one who is installed on the throne for the sake of enjoyment (*bhojyāyaiva*) alone is called a Bhoja.

22. Bühler's (ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 60. n. 3) restoration of the word before *Mahāraṭhi* (in the long inscription) as '[*bā*]*lāya*' is open to question. General usage requires that [*bā*]*lāya*' which again should be considered as a mistake for *bālikāya*, should follow *Mahāraṭhino*. According to Prof. Rapson (JRAS 1903, p. 238; and *op. cit.*, xx) the Chitaldroog *Mahāraṭhi* coins make the restoration of the word as '(Kaḷa)lāya' probable. Then the long record does not show the *Mahāraṭhi's* relations with the royal family. Even so, the *Mahāraṭhi* of the long record is identical with *Mahāraṭhi* Tranakayiro of the *relievos*, which show him in the company of two kings, one queen and three princes, apparently in the order of precedence after one of them and before the other three. He could not have been a brother of Sātakaṇi I, for he is not called a *Kumāra*. He could not have been a minister only, for ministers have no place in the royal family. The laudatory epithets used by the Queen towards the *Mahāraṭhi* following closely those used towards her husband, could only represent an outburst of filial love.

The titles of *Mahābhoja* and *Mahābhojī* might have had a similar origin. But since they occur in the Kuḍā or Beḍsā inscriptions which yield no date or point of contact with any known dynasty, it is not easy to determine the period at which they came into existence. That they existed under the Cuṭus is certain.[23] As the ornamental alphabet of the *Mahābhoja* inscriptions at Kuḍā[24] is found also in the approximately datable inscriptions of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi or his time,[25] and of the minister of the Queen of his successor Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi, it may be ascribed to the second century A.D. True, local influences may have played their own part. Two *Mahābhoja* inscriptions from Kuḍā[26] do not exhibit the ornamental variety and are earlier than Kuḍā Nos. 1 and 9. The primitive form of the dental *da* (open to the left), and the ornamental treatment of medial *i* and *u* signs, of the lower end of the verticals of *ka* and *ra* and the upper end of the verticals of *ha* and *la* and finally the rounded bottom of *ma* and *la*, stamp No. 19 as very early in the series. No. 17 with its somewhat angular *ma* and cursive *da*, which occurs in later inscriptions represents a transition to the ornamental alphabet. An interval of two generations between the alphabet of No. 19 and the ornamental alphabet may, therefore, be safely postulated. The office and title of *Mahābhoja*, then, came into existence not later than the 1st half of the first century A.D.

Nature of the titles: Mahābhoja

The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* gives the meaning 'great prince' to *Mahābhoja*.[27] Since no *Mahābhoja* inscription is dated in the fashion in which kings' inscriptions are generally dated, it is certain that they were not independent rules;[28] and it is very difficult to separate the title from the feudatory titles, *Mahāraṭhi* and *Mahāsāmanta*. Like all feudatory titles, the title *Mahābhoja* is also a

23. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1021 and 1186.

24. CTI, Nos. 1 and 9.

25. EI, Vol. VII, Nos. 20 and 22.

26. CTI, Nos. 17 and 19.

27. Petersburg Dict. (q. v).

28. A title originally applied to princes can become a feudatory title. The title *Mahārāja*, which in the Gupta inscriptions is associated with the feudatory titles. *Mahāsāmanta, Mahāpratihāra, Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*, is an instance to the point (CII, Vol. III, pp. 252, 289, 290, and 296, *n.*).

hereditary one[29] and became fixed in a few families or clans.[30] That the *Mahābhojas* were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas is proved by the fact that there could not have been a rival power in the western Deccan in the first century A.D. (Kuḍā where most of the *Mahābhoja* inscriptions are found is only 150 miles from Kārlā which was certainly included in the Sātavāhana empire), which could have claimed their allegiance; they are moreover related to the *Mahāraṭhis* (feudatories of the Sātavāhanas) by family ties and were the feudatories of the Cuṭus who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in northern Mysore and parts of the western Deccan.[31]

29. Kuḍā, Nos. 1 and 9, CTI.

30. Maṁdava and Sāḍakara (kera). What is read as Sāḍakara (in Kuḍā No, 19) may well be read as Sāḍakera. When we remember that in the same inscription as well as in Kuḍā No. 9, CTI, the *ā* and *e* signs are very short strokes (e.g. Vijayānikāya and *lena*) and that sometimes the sign for *ā* is the *o* sign—*mālākārasa* Kuḍa, No. 16 (CTI), we may treat what appears as a nail head over *ka* in Sāḍakara as the sign for medial *e*. Considering the *ḍa* in Sāḍakera and Sāḍagera (the mas. form of Sāḍageri in Kuḍā Nos. 1 and 9, CTI) and the use of *ga* for *ka* (the Sopāraka of Nos. 988 and 1095 is called Sopāraga in No. 995 Lüders, *List*, one may equate Sāḍakera with Sāḍagera. A lady of the Sāḍagera family bears the name Vijayā. The daughter of Sāḍakara Sudaṁsana bears the name Vijayanikā, a variant of Vijayā. Do not these names also suggest the idea that they belonged to the same family circle? Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji remarks (CTI p. 15): "Vijayanikā is apparently the same as the Vijayā of Nos. 1 and 9: the epithets Mahābhoya and Sāḍakara applied to her father here (No. 19) corresponding with the feminine forms Mahābhoji and Sāḍageri applied to Vijayā". But it has been pointed out already that Kuḍā No. 19 is separated from Kuḍā Nos. 1 and 9 by at least two generations.

According to the same scholar, Maṁdava may designate either the *gotra* name Māṇḍavya or the title Māṇḍapa 'lord of a town called Maṇḍapa.' Says he:—"This latter seems to be the preferable explanation as Maṇḍapa is the name for towns all over India, and three small villages called Māḍād or Maṇḍāḍh i.e., probably Mandapagāḍh lie close to Kuḍā". (p. 4). But the use of the dental *d* in *Madavanām* and Maṁdava renders either explanation problematical. Moreover '*Maṁdavasāmisa*' and not '*Maṁdavasa* can mean 'lord of the town of Maṁdava'. If Maṁdava should designate the country, the cognate inscription would lead us to expect *Maṁdavakasa*. In only one inscription have we *Kaliañasa* for *Kaliañakasa* (Lüders, *List* No. 1179), but it is easily understood as a scribal error. The occurrence of '*Madavana*' (*Maṁdavānām*) in Kuḍā No. 14 CTI, coupled with the fact that in several instances (Junnar Nos. 5 and 6, the *Jaṅgli Guṇḍu* inscription of Puḷumāvi and the Pallava and Kadaṁba inscriptions) the proper name of a person is preceded by the name of the title or family to which he belongs in the genitive plural, makes it certain that 'Maṁdava' is a family name.

31. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1021 and 1186.

It has been generally supposed, that the title *Mahābhoja* is exactly co-ordinate with that of *Mahārathi*. But the *Mahābhojas* seem to have enjoyed more independence than the *Mahārathis*, for unlike the Kārlā *Mahārathi* inscription, no *Mahābhoja* inscription is dated in the regnal years of a Sātavāhana king; a Kuḍā inscription[32] comes very near to being dated in the years of a *Mahābhoja* (*Mahābhoje Maṁdave Kochipute Velīdate)*. Whereas Senart has said and title *Mahārathi* cannot imply a title of nobility superior to that of *Mahābhoja*,[33] we can on the strength of the evidence cited here go further and say that the title *Mahābhoja* was superior to that of *Mahārathi*.

Mahābhojī

Like the title *Mahārathi*, *Mahābhoja* became a title applied even to women. The title *Mahābhoji* is borne only by the wives of *Mahābhojas* and not by the daughters also as Bhagwanlal thought.[34] In Kuḍā Nos. 1 and 9 (CTI) *Mahābhoji* Sādagerī Vijayā is mentioned along with her son *Mahābhoja* Khandapālita to the exclusion of her husband's name; this may go to show that, like some of the Sātavāhana queens, the *Mahābhojis* sometimes shared political power with their sons. There is so far no evidence to show that a *Mahārathinī* ever enjoyed such a position or influence.

Mahārathis

What stamp the *Mahārathis* as feudatories are the fact that they were hereditary governors of provinces,[35] and the rank and

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32. CTI, No. 23.

33. Senart says (EI, Vol. VII, p. 50, n. 4):—"in this instance (Beḍsā No. 2 CTI) *Maṁdavi* precedes *Mahārathini*. Seeing that *Mahābhōja* always precedes either attribute when connected with it, this position does not seem to indicate that *Mahārathi* could imply a title of superior nobility, and consequently still less that it could designate a very high dignity. But it is a correct view based on wrong premises. Not much can be based upon *Mahābhōja* preceding *Mahārathi* as it is *Mahābhoja-Bālikā* that precedes *Mahārathini*, and in a Banavāsī inscription, (Lüders, *List* No. 1186)*Mahābhuvia* (*Mahābhoji*) precedes *Mahārāja*. As for Maṁdava the donor in Beḍsā No. 2 (daughter of a *Mahābhoja* and a *Mahārathini*) might have combined the *Mahābhoja* practice of mentioning the family name after the feudatory title with the *Mahārathi* practice of mentioning it before the feudatory title (Kārlā No. 14, EI, Vol. VII).

34. The daughters of *Mahābhojas* are, however, referred to has *Mahābhoja-balikās*. *Mahābhuvi* in a *Banavāsi* inscription is either a mistake or a variant of *Mahābhoji*.

35. "..whatever the derivation of the term may have been," says Prof. Rapson (JRAS, 1903, p. 300) "such an expression as *Okhaḷakiyānaṁ Mahārathi* (*Kārlā* No. 14) shows conclusively that it denoted the governor over

power enjoyed by them, a rank and power far superior to those of ordinary governors or *amacas* in charge of districts. Whilst *amacas* make grants of lands and villages to religious bodies under the explicit commands of the sovereign (the detailed instructions issued to them by kings would seem to have left no room for their discretion), the *Mahārathi*, like a feudal vassal, grants villages with the fiscal immunities attached to them, in his own name.[36] That they were feudatories of the Sātavāhanas is shown, as was pointed out by Bühler, by Kārlā No. 14, which is dated in the regnal years of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāvi. It is not, however, known whether they had the right of waging war with one another. But their semi-independence is shown by the absence of any reference to their suzerains in their inscriptions (except Kārlā No. 14). The Chitaldoorg *Mahārathi* coins make it very probable, that during

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a part of the kingdom." Senart has shown (EI, Vol. VII, p. 50) reasons for abandoning this construction and making *Okhaḷakiyānaṁ* depend upon *Somadevena*; it would then denote not the people over which the *Mahārathi* ruled, but the tribe or family to which he belonged.

Senart further says:—"the occurrence of the feminine *Mahāraṭhini* in Bēḍsā No. 2 also indicates rather that the term does not imply the actual office of governor of a district or province, but an honorific or nobiliary title." But in a Nāsik inscription of Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi's reign (No. 24. EI, Vol. VIII) the wife of a *Mahāsenāpati* is known by her hurband's title. From the Jaṅgli Gunḍu inscription of Puḷumāvi III's reign, we learn that a *Mahāsenāpati* ruled over an *āhāra* much in the same way as an *amaca*. Modern instances of finding appellations for women in the official titles of their husbands are afforded by Viceroy, *Pūtlin* and Gandāsāmi. That *Mahāraṭhis* governed is shown by Kārlā No. 14, where a *Mahāraṭhi* grants on his account a village with its taxes and by the Chitaldoorg coins bearing the legends *Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhisa*. If *Mahāraṭhi* is not an official title, we are led to the paradoxical conclusion that the feudatories are known in their coins and official grants by their nobiliary titles, whilst the official titles (given for even minor officers, Nāsik Nos. 4 and 5) are the only ones we miss here. Etymologically too, the term, which Senart himself admits presupposes a Sanskrit form *Māhārāṣṭrin* implies an office (*vide supra*).

36. Kārlā No. 14. We owe to Senart a proper explanation of the terms *sakarukaro* and *sadeyameyo* which Bühler and Bagwanlal translate as 'this gift is in order to keep the Valūraka caves in repair'. Senart splits *sakasukaro* into 'kara' and 'ukara', the exact equivalent of which appears at the head of customary formulas which begin generally with *sōdraṅga sōparikara*. According to him while *kara* is known in the sense of dues payable to government, the meaning of *uparikara* is as unsettled as that of *sōdraṅga*. But *upari* means 'above' and *uparikara* may be taken to mean taxes over and above the ordinary ones. The adjective *Sadeyameya* is etymologically translated as 'what is taken (in money) and what has to be measured (*meyya*=to be measured, *ādeya*=to be taken),

the second century A.D. the *Mahāraṭhis* were contributing their share to the dismemberment of the Sātavāhana empire.[37]

Like many feudatory titles, that of *Mahāraṭhi* had purely a local significance. The *Mahāraṭhi* and *Mahāraṭhinī* inscriptions are found in northern Mysore and the Thāṇa and Kolāba districts of the Bombay presidency. The expressions *Okhaḷa kiyānaṁ Mahāraṭhi, Sadakana Kaḷalāya Mahāraṭhi*, and *Aṁgīya kulavadhana Mahāraṭhi*, suggest the idea that the title was restricted to a few families or tirbes.[38] Senart says :—" It may be noted that to......*Mahāraṭhi* Agimitraṇaka corresponds a *Mahāraṭhi* Mitadeva in No. 14; that this Mitadeva is a Kausikīputra, like Vishṇudatta at Bhājā (No. 2); and lastly that the *Mahāraṭhinī* Sāmadinikā at Bēḍsā (No. 2) was married to an Āpadevaṇaka. Do not these different names look as if they were connected with each other in such a way as to suggest the idea that they may have belonged to the same circle of families or relations?" Much cannot be built on similarity in names, especially when they are very common. Names like Mitabhūti and Mitadeva occur very often in the western cave inscriptions. Surely the *bhayata* Mitabhūti of the Kaṇhēri inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 1012) has nothing to do with the Mitadeva of No. 1187 and both have nothing to do with the Mitadevaṇaka of No. 1097.

The Nāṇeghāṭ and Kaṇhēri inscriptions show that the *Mahāraṭhis* had marriage relations with the ruling family much in the same way as the *Mahātalavaras* of the Ikṣvāku period. Professor Rapson remarks :[39] " That they were.... closely connected with the Andhra kings by family or by caste seems to be shown, as Paṇḍit Bhagwānlāl observed, by the use of metronymics which they have in common with them." But metronymics are not peculiar to a caste or family. They are borne by Brahmas,[40] artisans,[41] and even Buddhists, monks and laymen.[42] Unlike the Sātavāhanas, *Mahāraṭhis* sometimes bear metronymics not derived from Vedic *gotra* names, and give their father's name also.

It must however be noted that unlike the inscriptions of feudatories of later times, the *Mahāraṭhi* and *Mahābhoja* inscriptions are

37. EI, Vol. VIII, Pl. III.
38. Kārlā, No. 14; Chitaldroog *Mahāraṭhi* coins; Nāṇeghāt inscription of queen Nāyanikā.
39. JRAS, 1903, p. 299.
40. Lüders, *List* Nos. 1195 and 1196.
41. *Ibid.*, No. 346.
42. *Ibid.*. Nos. 657; 661; 662; 663; 664; 665; 667 and 1271.

as short as the votive inscriptions of ordinary persons. We miss in them the laudatory epithets applied to feudatories of a later time.

Mahāsenāpatis

Another dignitary in the empire was the *Mahāsenāpati*, next in rank above the *Senāpati*. The first known epigraphic record to mention a *Mahāsenāpati* is the Nāsik inscription of the 22nd year of Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi. In the records of his successors the title is mentioned twice and in Ikṣvāku records often. It may, therefore, be presumed, that the title is not as old as that of *Mahāraṭhi*.[43] Its origin is perhaps to be sought in the rapid expansion of the empire from sea to sea in the second century A.D.

The *Mahāsenāpatis* of the Sātavāhana period have non-military duties; but this confusion of functions though it may seem curious to moderns was a common feature in Indian polity. In Nāsik No. 3, the drafting of the royal order is attributed to a *Mahāsenāpati*. (*Mahāsenapatinā Medhunena Nokhadāsātara* (*ne*) *na chatho*). While editing the inscriptions Senart remarks[44]:—"As to the *Mahāsenāpati*, the proper name alone seems obliterated or doubtful; but the lacuna may have contained something else than his name. Other inscriptions do not attribute to the *Senāpati* the menial work of drafting, but perpetuate his name as that of a high officer entrusted with this charge at the end of the grant; see e.g. Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* Nos. 55 and 56. In a still higher degree the title of *Mahāsēnāpati*, which comes very near to that of *Mahāraja*. . . . . .seems to place the person who is honoured with it above any such mean task. This is why I suspect that the obliterated letters, if exactly known, would let his part appear in a different light." No doubt in cognate inscriptions (Nāsik Nos. 4 and 5) the drafting of the royal order is attributed to minor officials. But here the third case ending in *Mahāsenāpatinā* precludes any chance of his *lekhaka's* name having been on the stone. A close examination of the stone renders '*Nokhadāsātara* (*ne*)*na*' probable; and in western inscriptions 'dāsa' often enters in to the composition of names. The Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi plates mention a *Rahasādhikata*,

43. The office of *Senapati* (Commander of forces) would seem to have been coeval with the beginnings of Indian polity itself. We hear of it in the *Vedas* (Vedic index *Senāni*) :the *Jāṭakas*, the *Arthaśāstra*, and the *Purāṇas*; and an inscription from Ayodhyā (EI, Vol. XX, p. 57) shows that Pusyamitra was a *Senāpati* under the last of the Mauryas.

44. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 70.

the Khoh copper plate of *Mahārāja* Hastin a *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*[45] and most of the Valabhi grants of the sixth century A.D. a *Sāṁdhivigrahika*, as writers of charters.[46] The title *Sāṁdhivigrahika* is sometimes used in connection with that of *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* which is associated with the great feudatory titles of *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārāia*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, and *Mahāsāmanta*.[47] *Mahāsāṁdhivigrahika* would seem to be an officer equal in rank, if not superior to *Mahāsenāpati*. In the case of such high officials the mean task of drafting would have been done by clerks under them. What would be a conjecture is raised to a certainty by the expression *sayam chato* in the Koṇḍamuḍi plates.[48] The task of reducing royal writs to writing was a responsible one; the dangers attendant upon a careless drafting and the large number of orders to be drafted might have necessitated a *lekha* department under a responsible officer.[49]

The *Mahāsenāpati* of the Jaṅgli Guṇḍu inscription of the time of the last king of the Sātavāhana line, is, like the *amaca*, in charge of only an *āhāra*. As late as the reign of Caḍa Sātakaṇi, the eastern provinces, divided into *āhāras*, would seem to have been under *amacas*.[50] It is, therefore, probable that in the days of the Śaka attacks and the dismemberment of the empire, the outlying or vulnerable parts were put under *Mahāsenāpatis* who would naturally have seized the opportunity to gain feudatory rank and power.[51] Jaṅgli Guṇḍu is midway between the

45. CII, Vol. III, p. 105; t. l. 28.
46. IA, Vols.ꜝ.IV, etc.
47. CII, Vol. III.
48. *Vide infra.*
49 The *Arthaśāstra* says that only persons possessed of ministerial qualifications, acquainted with one kind of customs, smart in composition, good in legible writing and sharp in reading should be appointed as *rājalipikaras* (chap.:.IX;':Bk. I).

Sometimes *Dūtakas* carried the orders to local officers whose duty it was then to have the charters drawn up and delivered (Nasik No. 5, *op. cit.*, CII, Vol. III, p. 100, n)
50. EI, Vol. XVI, pp. 316-19.
51. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that *Mahāsenāpati* of Nasik No, 21, is a feudatory on the ground that the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* mentions *Senāpati* along with kings, hereditary *Raṭṭhikas* and heads of villages. But the office of *Mahāsenāpati* was a generic one, and the three *Mahāsenāpatis* of the Sātavāhana inscriptions appear in three different capacities. So an inference based on such argument cannot be conclusive.

V. S. Sukthankar remarks (EI, Vol. XIV, p. 155); "The relation in which the *mahāsenāpati* and the *gumika* stand to the *janapada* and the *gāma*

Mayākadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru, villages in the Bellary District which along with parts of northern Mysore and Kānara would have represented the southern limits of the Sātavāhana empire in the second century A.D. It is also probable that Sātavāhanihāra was exposed to Cuṭu and *Mahārathi* attacks. That, under the Ikṣvākus, the title had become a feudatory one is certain.

These feudatory titles seem to have not only survived the Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan but spread as far south as Mysore. We hear of a *Mahārathi* in the Chitaldoorg District, who struck coins in his name and of a *Mahārathinī* in Kaṇheri and Banavāsī inscriptions of the line of Hāritīputa Cuṭukulānanda Sātakaṇi. The same inscriptions show the Cuṭus intimately connected with the *Mahābhojas* and *Mahārathis*. It may be that the Cuṭus (who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the south and in the parts of the western dominions), themselves started as *Mahārathis* or *Mahābhojas*. But unlike the title of *Mahāsenāpati*, these titles do not seem to have spread to the Āndhra dominions of the Sātavāhanās; much less did they become *Mahāsāmanta*.[52]

.....is not explicitly mentioned. But, considering the position of these persons, one might hazard the guess that these.......were feudal lords of the lands, holding them in the form of *jāgirs*." For reasons given below, what is read as *Gumika* is to be read as *Gāmika*; and this considerably weakens the force of his arguments.

D. C. Sircar (*Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*, p. 15) says that under the Satavāhanas, the *Mahāsenāpatis* were feudatory chieftains in charge of *rāṣṭras*. We do not know upon what evidence this statement rests.

52. It is tempting to connect the *Bhojaka* and *Mahābhoja* of our inscriptions with the *bhogika* and the *Mahābhogika* of the later records. In the Gupta inscriptions the son of a *Bhogika* is in charge of the drafting of the order or charter. (Fleet GI, pp. 100, 105, 109, 120. etc.). In the inscriptions of the Gūrjāra Buddharāja (Kalacūri *Saṁvat* 361 EI. Vol. VI, p. 298), Dadda II, Prasāntarāga (Kalacūri *Saṁvat* 380 and 385 respectively, IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 82–88) and Jayabhaṭṭa III (IA, Vol. V; p. 110); the *Bhogikas* are mentioned after *Rājas*, *Sāmantas* and before *Viṣayapatis* and *Rāṣṭrādhikārikas*. What is interesting, both *Bhogika* and *Bhoja* literally mean 'one who enjoys'. Both refer to rulers of districts also. (*Bhogika* may also be connected to *Bhogapati*, i.e., a governor or officer in charge of revenue). According to the lexicographer Hemachandra, both *Bhogika* and *Bhojaka* mean 'village headman.' But the fact that the *Mahābhojas* are not referred to in any inscription after the second century A.D,, the long interval that separates the *Mahābhogikas* from the *Mahābhojas* and the technical nature of the titles, make any connection between them problematical.

Officials and administrative divisions

Barring the districts enjoyed by the feudatories, the empire was divided into *āhāras* (including the Āndhra province), e.g. Sopārahāra,[53] Govadhanahāra,[54] Māmālāhāra[55] and Sātavāhanihāra.[56] An *āhāra* would represent the same territorial division as the *rāṣṭra* of Pallava records, the *viṣaya* of the records of kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*, and the modern district.[57] Can we draw from the compound *araṭhasamvināyikam*, which is translated by Senārt[58] as 'exempt from the magistrate of the district or of the *Rāṣṭrin*,' the inference that some divisions of the Sātavāhana empire were called *rāṣṭras*? Such technical expressions are often conventional and in not one of the inscriptons of the Sātavāhana period is a territorial division called *rāṣṭra*. *Āhārās* were under governors called *amacas* (Sanskrit, *amātya*) who were non-hereditary officers.[59] Quinquennial transfer was in force. Each *āhāra* presumably received its name from the headquarters of the governor (nagara); Kūdūra (the Koddura of Ptolemy) is known to us from an Amarāvatī inscription of the second century A.D.[60] and yet we hear of Kūdūrahāra only in a copper-plate grant of the third century A.D.[61]

In a Kaṇhēri inscription, which, on palaeographical grouds, can be ascribed to the time of Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi,[62] we have the expressions *Patiṭhāṇe* and *Rājatalāka-Paiṭhāṇapathe*. Could we translate the latter as "the village of Rājataḍāka (King's Tank) in the Paiṭhāṇa division"? If Rajatalāka is a mistake for 'Rajatalāke' it would mean "in Rājataḍāka in the Paiṭhāṇa division."[63] The analagous expression Aṁdhāpata (Āndhrapatha) in the Mayidavolu plates, which is synonymous with Āndhraraṭṭha, makes it

53. Kaṇhēri No. 5, Vol. IV.
54. Nāsik No. 3, EI, Vol. VIII.
55. Kārlā No. 19, EI. Vol. VII.
56. Jaṅgli Gunḍu inscription of Puḷumāvi III, EI, Vol. XIV, p. 155.
57. *Vide supra.*
58. Nāsik Nos. 3, 4, and 5, EI; Vol. VIII. Also VII; p. 68.
59. *The amaca* of the Koḍavolu inscription of Caḍa Sāti and the *rājamaca* of Kudā No. 18 (CTI), might have been governors of *āhāras*. Sometimes, however, treasurers and officers in charge of the drafting of charters bear the same title (Nāsik Nos. 4 and 19).
60. Lüders, *List*, No. 1295.
61. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman, EI, Vol. VI, p. 315 *ff.*
62. No. 5 *ASWI, Vol. V; Compare No. 4.*
63. Lüders leaves the expression untranslated.

highly probable that '*patha*' literally 'path or road' is synonymous with *āhāra* (district);[64] may be the district of Paiṭhāna which contained the seat of the king and was perhaps under the direct control of the king, was distinguished from the other divisions in this way.[65]

The next division below that of *āhāra* is *gāmā* (*grāma*). From the *Saptaśatakaṁ* of Hāla we learn that the officer in charge of a village was called *Gāmikā* (*Grāmika*). In the Jaṅgli Guṇḍu inscription of Puḷumāvi we come across a *Gāmika*.[66]

The other functionaries known to us are the *Mahatarakas*, *Mahā-āryakas*,[67] *Bhāṇḍāgārikas*,[68] *Heraṇikas*,[69] *Mahāmātas*

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64. It has been shown that the Pallava *raṭṭha* is synonymous with *āhāra*.

65. In the Alīna copper plates of Śilāditya VII (year 447) we have the expression *Śrī Kheṭakhārē Uppalahēṭa pathakē Mahila(?lā)bali n(ā)magrāmaḥ*. *Pathaka* which Dr. Fleet (CII, Vol. III, p. 173, n.) connects with *pathin* or *patha* represents here a territorial division between *āhāra* and *grāma*.

66. V. S. Sukthankar would read it as '*Gumikasa*' (*Gaulmikasya*=of the Captain) which, according to him, would agree with the *Mahāsenāpatisa* of the preceding line. True in the Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi plates, coming from the same district, *Gumikas* are mentioned. But since, the officer over a *gāma* (*grāma*) is mentioned and as the *u* sign is not visible on the plates, it is safer to read it as '*G(ā)mika*.'

67. 68 & 69. *Mahataraka* means the Great Chamberlain. Hemachandra in the *Deśīkośa* (i, 16), gives *aira* in the sense of an official, e.g, the lord of a village. Etymology would therefore seem to be unsafe guide in the interpretation of official terms. As regards the *Mahā-āryaka* mentioned in Nāsik No. 3. Senart says (EI, Vol. VIII; p. 68: "......the part the monks are playing in the first sentence seems to point to the name being that of a religious personage. Even admitting that the title *araka* given to Yañasiri-Sātakaṇi (Siri-Yaña Satakaṇi) by an inscription (Ep. Ind. Vol. I, p. 96) be really=*āryaka*, that would in no way prevent this epithet, which is commonly used with reference to Buddhist monks, being applied to some religious functionary. I am the more inclined to think so, because I find the similar title Chūḷa-ārya conferred on the *Ārya* Buddharakshita; who is styled *Arhat* (Burgess' *Buddhist Stūpas of Amaravati*, Plate lix. No, 39, p. 104)." He also compares this title to that af *Mahāsāmiya* in Nāsik No. 4. But *Mahā-ārya* is used in the singular, while the title of *Mahāsāmiya* is used in the plural The latter is perhaps an instance of *pluralis majestatis*, in which case it would not point to a college of religious functionaries. *Mahat-araka* (Sans, *Mahat āryaka*), an official title, is mentioned in the Chinna Ganjam inscription of Siri-Yāna Sātakaṇi, and the way in which our *Mahā-āryaka* is connected with the village of Samalipada ('This village of Sāmalipada.... by the *Mahā-āryaka*, you (*amaca*), must deliver to be owned by the *Bhikṣus*, of the school of the Bhadāyaniyas), seems to point to a

(*Mahāmātras*) in charge of Buddhist monks,[70] the *Nibaṁdhakāras* of officers in charge of the registration of documents (the *Akṣapaṭalikas* of later times),[71] the *Pratihāras*, the *Dūtakas* who carried royal orders, and the *Amacas* in charge of drafting royal orders. From a Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta we learn that every town had a records office.[72]

APPENDIX A

The Allūru Inscription

One of the notable discoveries of the Epigraphy Department in the year 1924 was that of a Brāhmī inscription on a fragment of a marble pillar at Allūru, a village in the Nandigama taluq of the Kṛṣṇā district. The pillar under reference must originally have belonged to the Buddhist *Stūpa* which stands at about two furlongs to the west of the village. The Epigraphy Report for the year ending with March 31, 1924 contains a photograph of a facsimile of the inscription and a short note on it. It was subsequently edited by Dr. R. Shamasastry in the Calcutta Review for the year 1925. His reading misses the truth in many a place.

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secular official, one in charge of a *gama* perhaps. Lastly in the Amarāvati evidence cited by Senart. Cula-Ārya is a name and not a title conferred on Ārya-Buddharakṣita. (68) Nāsik No. 19, EI. Vol. VIII. (*Bhāṇḍāgārika* which may mean both store-keeper and treasurer) is better construed here as store-keeper as in cognate records. *Heraṇika*, is the term for treasurer. (69) The various forms are *Heraṇika, Heraṇaka, Heraṇika, Hiraṇakāra*; this term which occurs in the inscriptions at Kaṇhēri, Nāsik, Amarāvati, and Bhaṭṭiprōlu is better construed as treasurer, as in them *suvaṇakāra* is the term for goldsmith (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 986 and 1117). If the treasurer Dhaṁmaṇaka of No. 993, is identical with Dhaṁmaṇaka, son of the treasurer Rohaṇimita of Nos. 996 and 1033, the office would seem to have been, at least to some extent, hereditary. At times we come across a treasurer who was the son of a merchant or a *gahapati* (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1239 and 1249).

70. Senart (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 93) however considers the translation of *Nāsikakena, samaṇena Mahāmātena*' as 'by the officer in charge of the monks of Nāsik,' as hypothetical.

71. Senart (*ibid*, p. 74) takes them to be *Dūtakas* carrying the orders for registration. Senart himself has happily explained the meaning of *nibandh* by a reference to Yajñavalkya I, 317. Says he: "*nibandh* was perhaps a kind of the royal decision in the archives of the state." In such a case the meaning given to *Nibandhakāra* here is more apt than the one proposed by Senart.

72. '*Nigamasabhāya nibadha ca phalakavāre*', *ibid.*, No. 12.

My reading of the inscription is as follows: The beginning line or lines of the inscription are lost.

1. (ai)lasa Maḍa (vi)sa ca. . . . .
2. sa rāmo vihāro deyadhama parica. . . .
3. nigala-simāya Vetarakuḍo Na (ga). . .
4. ti Khetasārasa Pāpikala simāya. . .
5. nivatanāni rāja datini. Caraṭhe Macha. . .
6. (pa)da-simāya batisa nivatanāni Rā. .
7. (c) erapura-simāya ca (tu) visa-nivatanāni. .
8. ḍalasa gāvina pacasatāni (co) yathi balīva(da)
9. sakadani pesa-rupāni dāsi-dāsasa catā 1 (isa). .
10. kubhi kaḍāhasa catari lohiyo be kaḍ(ā) hāni (kasa). .
11. (sa) bhāyanāṁ catāri vadālābhikaro karodiyo (yo)
12. (na)ka-dīvikayo ca Ataragiriya pica-pake taḷāka(ni)
13. kāhāpanāna ca purāṇaṁ sahasam akhayani v(i)
14. esā mahātalavarasa deya-dhama paricāko
15. ata Pedatarapase bāpana-nivatanāni
16. eta sabhāriyasa saputakasa sanatukāsa
17. Ayirāna Puvaseliyāna nigāyasa. . . .

The rest of the inscription is lost. It mentions the gifts made by many, including a king, who perhaps out of modesty omits his name, a unique feature in our records. The first two lines speak of an Aila (Aīra, or Ārya) Maḍavi. Then comes the gift of something within the limits of Vetarakuḍa. Next is mentioned the gift of a beautiful *vihāra*, perhaps by the side of the *Stūpa*, of some *nivatanas* of land within the limits of Pāpikala (for the identification of Pāpikala, see the chapter on the Ikṣvākus). Then come the gifts of 32 *nivatanas* of land within the limits of Macha-pada in the *raṭha* of Ca, and 24 *nivatanas* of land within the limits of the town of Rā-cerpura, 500 cows, 64 bullock carts, 40 servants some cauldrons, especially two brass cauldrons, 4 bronze vessels, some hand lamps of the vādala fish shape, some Yonaka lamps, a tank in the vicinity of Ataragiri, and one thousand *purāṇa, kāhā-paṇas* as a permanent endowment; 52 *nivatanas* of land were the gifts of a *Mahātalavara* along with his wife, son and grandson. All these gifts were for the (acceptance of) the school of the Pubbaseliyas. . . .

The use of a peculiar form of *ai* which comes close to the *Vaṭ-ṭeḷuttu ai* is noteworthy. I am indebted for this reading to Mr. K. N. Diksit. It is clear that in this record the *Mahātalavara* is playing a more important role than even the king.

As D. C. Sircar has also pointed out what was read by Dr. Shama Sastry *jayadhama* is only *deyadhama* (. 2). What has been read as *caradhama* is undoubtedly *Caraṭhe Ma- -pada* (1. 5). What is read as *Sanasa kata* (made by Sana) King of the Ayis (*Ayirāṇaṁ* is interpreted as King of the Ayis), is only *sanatu kasa* (with his grandson) (1. 16) and *Ayirānaṁ* refers to the school of Pubbaseliyas mentioned in the same inscription.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Amarāvatī and western cave inscriptions give us an insight into the social organisation of the Deccan from the second century B.C. to third century A.D., and from the Amarāvatī sculptures we get a vivid picture of life in the *Āndradēsa*. The fourfold division of society—the caste system—prevailed. We hear of Uṣavadāta's Charities and gifts to numerous Brahmans. Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi boasts of having prevented the contamination of the four castes and of having been the true supporter of Brahmans. Yet one of his descendants took his wife from the Śaka satrapal family and the Śakas were looked upon as degraded Kṣatriyas. It is doubtful whether Buddhism toned down the caste system even to the extent to which these foreign elements in society did. At Kuḍā an *upāsaka* Ayitilu calls himself *Baṁmhana.*[1] His wife is called *Baṁmani*. Mahādevaṇaka of a Kārlā inscription who would seem to be Ayitilu's son bears the title of *gahata* (Sans, *gṛhasta*). In the *śarman* ending in the names of Buddhists, monks and laymen, we have probably one of the Brahmanical vestiges in the Buddhist communities.[2] Kṣatriyas would sometimes seem to have followed the profession of the Vaiśya caste. In a Kaṇheri inscription Gajasena and Gajami (ta), the *Khātiya* brothers, follow the profession of *vāṇijakas.*[3] Unfortunately the lacunae before *khātiyasa*, makes the meaning of the word not quite certain. The sub-castes met with in inscriptions are those of the *hālaka* or *hālika*[4] (ploughman), *mūrdhaka* (according to the *Śabdaratna*

1. ASWI, Vol. IV, No. 13.

2. ASWI, Vol. IV, Junnar No. 19, p. 96; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1101 and 1102. However *śarman* ending in names does not always indicate Brahmanical origin. In an Amarāvatī inscription a *vāniya* (belonging to the Vaiśya caste probably) bears the name Bodhisaṁman (TSW 1873, p. 261, No. 8). See also Fleet CII, Vol. III, p. 11, n.

3. ASWI, Vol. V, Kaṇhēri Inscriptions No. 4.

4. Lüders is in doubt as to whether *hālika* in No. 1084, is only a personal name, or a variation of *hālaka*. An Amarāvatī inscription (EI, Vol. XV; *Some Unpublished Amarāvatī Inscriptions*, No. 56), makes it certain that *hālika* is not a personal name. Wherefore it must be identical with *hālaka*.

Petersburg Dict. s.v.) a branch of the Kṣatriyas, and *golika* (herdsman).[5]

Foreign Elements in Hindu and Buddhist Society

(*i*) *Yavanas.*—Yona or Yavana is an Indian form of the word Ionian. In literature Yavana refers to all kinds of foreigners or *Mlecchas*. At the present day the term Yona is applied by the Sinhalese to the 'Moormen' or Arabs some of whose families have been settled in Ceylon for centuries. It is however more than probable that Yavana of our inscriptions denotes the Greeks. For, the Yonas of Asoka's inscriptions placed with the Kāmboja's and the Gāṁdhāras in the north-west are certainly the Greek element that Alexander's invasion and Seleucus' empire left in the north-western India; as our inscriptions mention Śakas and Yavanas,[6] a confusion between Śakas and Yavanas is ruled out; as the term Yavana occurs in the inscriptions of the foreigners also, it is improbable that they did not clearly state their racial affinities.

We do not know how and when these Yavanas entered western Deccan. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, some 250 years after the *Nirvāna* of the Buddha, the Yona priest Dhaṁmarakhita was sent to Aparānta as a missionary,[7] while the priest Mahārakhita was sent to the Yona country. This shows that there was already in western Deccan a large element of foreign—Yavana—population. Yavāna Tuṣāspha was governor of Surāṣṭra under Asoka. According to Strabo, Menander, the Greek prince, penetrated into 'Isamus' (Jumna) and subjugated Patalene (the Indus delta) and Saraostes (Surāṣṭra). This statement is corroborated by the curious observation of the author of the *Periplus* that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were current in his time at Barygaza.[8] Of a crowd of Yavanas in western India thoroughly Indianised we hear in the inscriptions at Kārla.[9] A Sāñcī inscription mentions a Yavana.[10]

5. ASWI, Vol. IV, Junnar No. 2 pp. 92 *ff.*

6. Nāsik, No. 2, EI, Vol. VIII, speaks of Śakas, Palhavas and Yavanas.

7. *Mahāvaṁsa*, Geiger p. 82 and Intro. xxxi; lvii.

8. Schoff, *The Periplus*, pp. 41; 42, and Sec. 47.

9 & 10. Sten Konow is of opinion, that the 'Yavana' of the Kārla inscriptions wherever it is followed by a name in the genitive plural, is a personal name. Lüders looks upon Yona in No. 547 also as a personal name. There are weighty considerations to be brought forward against this view. Firstly it is improbable that many persons bore the same name Yavana. The ethnicon Yavana denoted to the Indian a foreigner whom he looked

As these inscriptions are incised on the *Cetiya* cave pillars, they are as old as the cave itself. The palaeography of the oldest Kārlā inscriptions would support a first century B.C. date for the *Cetiya* cave. It is possible then, that the Yavanas entered the

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upon as a degraded Kṣatriya; it is therefore improbable that Indians bore 'Yavana' as a personal name. Much less could a Yavana have done so.

While Sten Konow looks upon the names in the plural found along with the word 'Yavana' as a family or corporation name, Senart looks upon them as personal names in the genitive plural. Senart looks upon the genitive plural in *Siṁhadhayānaṁ* in Kārlā No. 7 (EI, Vol. VII), as a personal name in the plural (*pluraliṣ majestatis*), and following him M. Swarup Vats has treated the other names in the genitive plural in the other Yavana inscriptions as personal names. In all the Kārlā epigraphs and in the Yavana epigraphs at Junnar (CTI Nos. 5 and 33), the personal name is in the singular while the family name is in the plural—'*Okhaḷakiyānaṁ Mahāraṭhisa Kosikiputaṣa Mitadevasa*' (Kārlā No. 14 EI, Vol. VII), '*Yavanasa Irilasa Gatānaṁ*' and '*Yavanasa Ciṭasa Gatānaṁ* (Junnar, Nos. 5 and 8; ASWI; Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 94). It is therefore, not proper to consider *Caṁdānaṁ* (Junnar) *Culayakhànaṁ Dhamadhayānaṁ, Vitasaṁghatānaṁ, Siṁhadhayānaṁ* and *Yasavadhanānaṁ* (Kārlā) as personal names. The Junnar inscription under reference is assigned by Dr. Burgess to the first century B. C. on palaeographical grounds, and it is the period of the Kārlā *Caitya* cave. In the Sāñci Yavana inscription we miss the personal name—'*Setapathiyasa Yonasa dānaṁ.*' In Lüders, Nos. 82 and 1035 the personal names of the donors are omitted though their *gotras* are mentioned. While editing the Sāñci inscriptions, Dr. Bühler remarks (EI, Vol. II, p. 94): 'Peculiar and noteworthy are the names of monks and nuns, which like Kāboja, Prātiṭhāna, Chirāti, and perhaps also Oḍi, consist of adjectives derived from the names of countries, towns and races. In these cases it would seem that the real name of the donors has been left out."

Senart translates the compound '*Dhaṁma Yavanasa*' in Kārlā No. 10 in the same way as Bühler did viz., 'of Dhaṁma, a Yavana.' He adds: "......the simple name of Dhaṁma applied to a Buddhist surprises me...... I feel tempted to take *Dhaṁma*......in a specifically Buddhist sense, and to understand by *dhaṁmanigama* 'a member of the guild of Buddhist merchants'; compare *nigamasabhā* at Nāsik (No. 12, l. 4). On this analogy *Dhaṁma-Yavana* would be 'the community of the Buddhist Yavanas' or rather a Buddhist Yavana who has modestly omitted his personal name" (EI, Vol. VII, p. 56). Lüders considers Dhaṁma-Yavana as the name. But in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription Dhaṁma occurs as a personal name (EI, Vol. XX, Ins. J). Dhaṁmila, a name of very common occurrence, is only Dhaṁma with the *la* suffix. Names Cetiya and Sagha are of the Dhaṁma class. Nor is the compound a source of difficulty. In the Nāsik inscription of the time of Ābhīra-Īśvarasena we have the compound *Śivadatt-Ābhīraputrasya*; the analogy is not, however, very close, since a compound is necessary in the latter case and since the one inscription is in Prākṛt and the other in Sanskrit. In an Amarāvati inscription (EI, Vol. XV, No. 11) we have *Sa[ṁ]ghalasamanasa;* Sa[ṁ]ghala cannot

Sātavāhana dominions in the wake of Saka conquest. The Yavanas who are credited with donations at Kārlā are: one of the Siṁhadhaya family, one of the Yasavadhana family, one of the Dhamadhaya family, and one by name Dhama.

As all the Kārlā Yavanas except one, profess to be natives of Dhenukākaṭa. this place would seem to have contained a Yavana settlement. As most of the donors in the Kārlā inscriptions, come from Dhenukākaṭa,[11] and as the place name occurs frequently in Kārlā epigraphs and once in an inscription at Śailārwāḍi, a place very near Kārlā, it has to be sought for in the vicinity of Kārlā. It would therefore seem to have been included in Māmālāhāra.[12]

A point that deserves mention is that these Yavanas besides embracing Buddhism adopted thoroughly Hindu personal and family names.[13] They use Prākṛt in their inscriptions and it is not unreasonable to infer that they adopted Hindu manners and customs. This is no wonder since even a casual visitor to Ujjain from the kingdom of Antalkidas became a Bhāgavata.[14] So completely did the Yavanas merge into Hindu society that Indian Buddhists had no scruples whatsoever in joining with these foreigners in making donations. The Kārlā *Cetiya* cave was a result of such a joint effort,

(*ii*) *Śakas*.—Like the Yavanas, the Śakas too merged into Hindu society. The Śaka son-in-law of Nahapāna bears the Indian name Uṣavadāta (Sans. Ṛṣabhadatta), while his father bears the un-Indian name Dinika. Another Śaka bears the name Agnivar-

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be anything else than a personal name. Lüders, *List*, No. 1283. The analogy between *Dhaṁmanigamasa* and *Dhaṁma-Yavanasa* suggested by Senart breaks down at every step. Yavana is not like *nigama*, a collective noun. Another objection is that in all the other Kārlā epigraphs either the family name or the personal name or both appear. [Dr. Tarn has suggested that Dhaṁma-Yavana was a naturalized citizen of an Indo-Greek polis. See, however, JRAS 1939 pp. 217 *ff* and 1940 pp. 179 *ff*—*Ed*.] (10) EI, Vol. II, p. 395, No. 364.

11. EI, Vol. VII, Nos. 4, 6 and 10, EI, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3, 4, 9, 11 and 12.

12. It is mentioned once at Kaṇheri. Lüders, *List*, No. 1020.

13. In Nāsik No. 18, EI, Vol. VIII, we hear of a Yonaka from Dattāmitri. According to Bühler, it is the same as Demetrias, a town in Arachosia, mentioned by Isidore of Kharax. He bears the name Indrāgnidatta, his father is called Dhaṁmadeva, and his son Dhaṁmarākhita.

14. It is stated in the Milinda Pañho that the Yavana king Milinda (generally identified with Menander) was converted to Buddhism by the teacher Nāgasena. According to a legend mentioned by Plutarch no less than seven cities fought for his ashes. (IA, Vol. VIII, p. 337).

man, and his daughter that of Viṣṇudattā. A fourth bears the name Vudhika (Sans. Vṛddhika).[15] If Nahapāna was a Pahlava, even Pahlavas would seem to have followed the example of Yavanas and Śakas, for Nahapāna's daughter bears the Indian name Dakṣamitrā.

Unlike our Yavanas all of whom are Buddhists, Śakas embraced both Brahmanism and Buddhism. Kuḍā inscriptions mention a Brahman *upāsaka* named Ayitilu, and according to Senart, it is a foreign name corrupted and curiously reminding us of Azilizes.[16] Śaka Uṣavadāta's charities to Brahmans and Brahman institutions stamp him as a staunch adherent of the Brahmanical religion. We are told that he gave money and *tirtha* on the river Bārṇāsā and also 300,000 cows and 16 villages to Brahmans. He bathed at the Pokṣara tanks and gave the Brahmans 3000 cows and a village. He also gave eight wives to Brahmans and fed thousands of them all the year round. The Carakas also received something at his hands. In a Nāsik inscription, however Uṣavadāta says that "inspired by true religion, in the *Trīraśmi* hills at Govardhana" he caused a cave[17] to be made. Says Senart: "I dare not decide if this phrase (*dharmātmana*) impiles an express conversion to Buddhism, or only puts a first gift in favour of Buddhism in contrast with the previous grants which were inspired by Brāhmaṇical feelings. I do not think the wording allows us to settle this shade of meaning. On the strength of this explanation I propose in N. 18 to take *dhaṁmātmanā* in a similar way. I believe the reading *'tmanā* not *'tmano*, is certain, and the manner in which the construction is interrupted after the preceding genetives confirms the impression that *dharmātmanā* is intentionally put forward, in order to dwell on the fact of a change having taken place in the religious belief or inclination of the donor Indrāgnidatta," (a Śaka). If reliance could be placed upon names, Indrāgnidatta's father and son would both seem to have been Buddhists. As three years after the foundation of his Nāsik cave Uṣavadāta makes donations to Brahmans, his change of faith is extremely improbable.[18]

15. In No. 26, EI, Vol. VIII we have *Śakasa Dāmacikaṣa Lekhakasa Vudhikasa Viṣṇudata-putasa Daśapuravāthavasa*. As the donor's race and father's name are mentioned *Damacika* is the name of his native town. Senart, however, does not agree with Bhagwanlal who looks upon it as a corruption of Damascus.

16. EI, Vol. VII, p. 52.

17. *Govardhane Trīraśmiṣu parvateṣu dharmātmanā idaṁ leṇam kāritaṁ*, EI, Vol. VIII, p. 78, No. 10.

18. The cave was consecrated in the year 42.

Viṣṇudattā, the daughter of Śaka Indrāgnidatta, was an *upāsikā*. As Dr. Bhandarkar observes: "These Śaka kings (Western Kṣatrapas) had thus become so thoroughly Hinduised that another Hindu royal dynasty (the Sātavāhana) had no scruples whatever, social or religious, in entering into matrimonial relationship with them."[19]

We do not hear of the Śakas and Yavanas in the Sātavāhana dominions in the western Deccan after the second century A.D. The epithet *Saka-Yavana.Palhava-nisūdanasa* applied to Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi seems to be no mere boast; evidently he drove out these foreigners from his newly rebuilt empire—the Śakas were only to return in the wake of Rudradāman's conquest for a short time.

Yavanas and Śakas in Eastern Deccan

Of Yavanas in the eastern Deccan we hear nothing; it is however certain that Graeco-Roman influences played a great part in the fashioning of the Amarāvatī tope, and as will be shown below the inscription from Allūru[20] is another piece of evidence for Greek influence. Of the Śakas we hear something, An Amarāvatī inscription of the second century A.D., mentions a Śaka-giri (not (Ś)akagiri as read by Chanda, or Pi (Si?) giri as read by F. W. Thomas).[21] Another mentions a '.........*ratika Nekhavana*,' and Nekhavana curiously reminds us of the Persian name Nahapāna.[22] More Śakas would seem to have entered eastern Deccan in the wake of the marriage of Virapurisadāta with the daughter of a Western Kṣatrapa. A Nāgārjuṇikoṇḍa epigraph[23] mentions a Śaka Moda,[24] and his Buddhist sister Budhi. Among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.

Family

At Amarāvatī not only father and mother, but also sons and daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, and brothers and

19. IA, Vol. XL, p. 15.

20. *Vide infra.*

21. *Some Unpublished Amarāvatī Inscriptions*, No. 55, EI. Vol. XV, and Pl. facing p. 273.

22. *Ibid.*, No. 54.

23. EI, Vol. XX, p. 37.

24. Sanskrit *moda* means 'joy.' This is an instance of an Indian name borne by a Śaka.

sisters, are associated with the donor. The wife has a place above the brothers and sisters, the son enjoys precedence over the daughter and the daughter over the daughter-in-law. At Kaṇhēri and Nāsik the donor is mentioned with all his blood relations, and so high was the social sense in the Buddhist world that the donor shared the merit of his donations with all his fellow beings.[25] Could we infer from what we have stated above that the joint-family system was in vogue?[26] Could Amarāvati No. 38, which speaks of Khadā and 'his daughter-in-law in her house' show that it was at the time going to pieces or had done so?

Women

Women occupied a prominent position in society. The idea of woman being the chattel of her lord with no rights and privileges which make life worth living, was quite alien to the period. In the western cave and Amarāvatī inscriptions we come across a bevy of ladies making sometimes very costly donations. A great number of the exquisitely sculptured rail pillars, *toraṇas* and *stūpa* slabs at Amarāvatī were donated by ladies. Of the nearly 145 epigraphs from Amarāvatī 72, out of the 30 at Kuḍa 13, out of the 29 from Nāsik 16, either record gifts by ladies or gifts in which the ladies are associated. The *Cetiyagharas* at Nāsik and Kuḍa were founded by ladies. Women joined hands with men in the construction of the *Caitya* cave at Kārlā, 'the most excellent (?) mansion in *Jambudvīpa*.' The base to the right of the central door carved with rail pattern, and a similar piece on the left were the gifts of two nuns. A belt of rail pattern on the inner face of the gallery was also a *bhikkhunī's* gift. The remaining pillar on the open screen in front of the verandah was the gift of a housewife. These instances unmistakably show that ladies were allowed to possess property of their own. At Nāsik, a Śaka lady (Viṣṇudattā) gives to the *Saṁgha* of Nāsik more than 3500

25. ASWI, Vol. V, Kaṇhēri Inscriptions, No. 9.

26. The word *saparivārasa* in the Nāsik Kaṇhēri and Junnar epigraphs is translated by Senart as 'with his (or her) next.' He remarks (EI, Vol. VIII. p. 77): "It is, I think, too precise to translate *saparivāra* by 'with his family' .... *Parivāra* may, together with the family or even excluding it, apply to companions of the donor, fellow-workers or caste-partners." In Junnar No. 7 (ASWI, Vol. IV) the donor associates with him his son in the merit of his donations and in No. 9 his *parivāra*. As it is probable that in both cases he has associated with him the same kind of persons, *pārivāra* would refer to members of the family only. In Kaṇhēri No. 18, (ASWI, Vol. IV), we have *bitiyikāya ca sahā pārivāra* and in No. 27 *sarvaseva kulasya*.

kārṣāpaṇas. Ladies even got the titles of their husbands e.g., *Mahābhojī*, *Mahāraṭhinī*, *Bhojikī*, *Kuṭumbinī*, *Gahinī*, *Vaṇiyinī* etc. In the Amarāvatī sculptures we often come across ladies, worshipping Buddhist emblems, taking part in assemblies, playing on instruments, enjoying music and dance and entertaining guests along with their husbands. In one of the panels of an outer rail pillar,[27] we find depicted a disputation between a chief and another, and the audience consists mostly of women who are represented as taking keen interest in what is going on. In some panels they are represented as watching processions. Widows were to shun ornaments and to be bent on self—control and restraint and penance.[28]

On dress and ornaments, the Amarāvati stones, and the figures cut in the western caves, furnish ample information. Except in some minor details, the dress and ornaments in vogue on both sides of the Deccan are the same. The most striking item of the dress of ladies and men is the head-dress as in the Indus valley. The former have their hair divided in front and running down to a knot at the back. Hung on the knot is a cord of twisted cloth or hair drawn in two or four rows. Sometimes we come across two strings in four rows ending in tassels. Some ladies have their hair done in a pointed knot sideways.[29] In some the knot is done near the forehead with a string of beads. In western Deccan ladies sometimes cover their heads with a piece of cloth.[30] Sometimes a thick cloth runs round their head. At Kuḍā a lady wears a long cap of conical shape. Perhaps it is the coiffure done to that shape. Generally a string or strings of beads adorn the forehead and the knots. Men wore high head-dress. The general custom was to have hair knotted in front and covered to a great extent by twisted cloth running down. The knot was adorned in front by a horse-shoe-shaped or *caitya*-arch-shaped ornament. Some Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa men wear knots unadorned by ornaments. Lay disciples and even servants have hair done in knots. In one of the Amarāvatī sculptures a groom has let the hair run down and secured it by bands at three places. One of the male figures in the façade of the *Caitya* cave at Kaṇhēri has a very low turban fully ornamented, the ornaments even hiding the knot of hair on the left.

27. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XI, Fig. 2.

28. Kuḍā Sculptures CTI, Pl. facing page 10. Nāsik inscription, No. 2, EI, Vol. VIII.

29. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XV, No. 3.

30. The Kārlā *Caitya* cave figures.

Women are as scantily dressed as men, and sometimes even more so. Twisted cloth running in two or three rows below the waist and knotted at the right, the ends, however, hanging from the knots, and sometimes also four or five strings of beads held together by a clasp, constituted the main part of their dress. Men wear an undercloth. There is only one instance among our sculptures of a woman covering her breasts. Laymen and monks and perhaps others also had also a loin cloth, part of which was thrown over their shoulders. The cloth worn by Brahmans covers them down to their knees. Some men have twisted cloth thrown over their shoulders. At Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa we also come across men in breeches and long tunic—perhaps Śakas.[31]

Men and women alike wore ornaments. Heavy rings, sometimes two in each ear, sometimes rows of beads joined together, constituted their ear ornament. Even kings wore ear ornaments. The representations of Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi and Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi on their silver coins show us well-punched ears.[32] Both men and women wore bracelets and bangles with this difference, that sometimes women wore bracelets covering the whole of the upper arm, and bangles running up to the elbow. Men did not wear anklets while all women had them.[33] Sometimes the anklets are heavy rings, two for each leg, while in other cases each is a spiral of many columns. Both men and women, even servants, wore necklaces—strings of beads and of medallions. The noses of women were unadorned as it seems to have been at the Indus Valley. In this connection it is interesting to note a description of some of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu remains given by Rea in his *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*. They are coral beads, beryldrops, yellow crystal beads, amethyst beads, double hollow beads, garnet, trinacrias, pierced pearls, coiled gold rings and gold flowers of varying sizes.

Luxuries

Jugs, jars, and vessels of attractive shapes, chairs, tables, stools and cots seem to have been used by many. Whilst kings, great

31. ASSI, Vol. I. Pl. xlviii No. 2; ABIA 1927, Pl. vi.

32. In this connection it is interesting to note the head-dress worn by Sātavāhana kings are represented on their coins. Siri-Yaña's head-dress consists of a strap on the forehead and from the temple locks of combined hair fall over the strap. Behind the head hangs a string knotted at the end, probably a braided lock of hair. Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Satakaṇi is represented with short curly hair.

33. For the solitary exception see TSW, 1868, Pl. No. LXII.

chiefs, and nobles rode fully caparisoned elephants and horses ordinary men used double-bullock carts much like those that are in use at the present day. It is also surprising that the elephant goad represented on the Amarāvati marbles and on the coin of Āpilaka from central India are like those in use at the present day.

Names

Whilst Bhaṭṭiprolu personal names are most of them not met with elsewhere,[34] those of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are met with in the western caves. A few names like Samaṇadāṣa, Samuda, Sāmaka, Reta, and Utara, which are common to Bhaṭṭiprolu, Amarāvati, Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, and the western cave inscriptions are to be attributed to Buddhism and the commercial intercourse.[35] Names of frequent occurrence are Siva, Sivakhada, Sivaguta, Sivadatta, Veṇhu, Cada, Sagha, Kaṇha, Buddha, Buddharakhita, Buddhi, Sidhatha, Ānanda, Damila,[36] Dhaṁma etc., and names into the composition of which Nāga, Khada, and Sāti enter. Names of rare occurrence are Camunā, Campa, Campurā, Vicita, Khumbha, Dusaka, Ukati etc., (Amarāvati) and Maḍavi (Allūru), Jebubhūti, Ahila,[37] Kuḷira Sayiti, Lachinikā, Juvāriṇikā, Aparenuka etc. in the western caves. Sometimes the names of places and objects of worship are borne by persons e.g., Caitya,[38] Himala, and so on.[39] As at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, *cula* and *mahā* are prefixed to names in western Deccan. The usual suffixes are *la*, *ka*, *ra*, *ma*, *maka*, and *ḍa*. *Ḍa* is however only used for *la* e.g., Māmāḍa headquarters of Māmālāhāra.[40] On this analogy Sāmaḍa, Haṁghaḍa and Kaṁdadā in an Amarāvati inscription are only Syāmala,

34. They are Banava, Odāla, Apakara, (in an Amarāvati inscription of the second or the first century B.C., the name Apakū occurs. EI, Vol. XV, No. 9, p. 264). Āḷinaka, Ghāḷeka, Būbā, Ghakhā, Cagha, (probably a form of Sagha), Chadikogha, etc. These are to all appearance un-Āryan names

35. *Vide infra.*

36. Lüders renders Damila as Dravida, (*List* No. 1243). As *la* suffix to names is common in our epigraphs, e.g., Sapa-Sapila, Budha-Budhila, Pusa-Pusila. Dama is the name to start from. Sanskrit and Prākṛt *dāmā* means 'patience'.

37. As *Ahi* means 'serpent' and *la* is a suffix, Ahila is identical with Sapila.

38. ASWI, Vol. IV, Junnar, No. 17, p. 95.

39. EI, Vol. XV, *Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions*, No. 57.

40. EI, Vol. VII, *Kārle Cave Inscriptions*, No. 19.

Haṁghala, and Kaṁdalā. The common name endings are *aṇaka,*[41] *mita, bhūti. deva, rakhita,* etc. Some names are borne by ladies and men e.g., Kaṇha, Dhaṁma, Nāga, Sātimita, Sulasadatta, Buddhi, Sivapālita, Sıvadatta and Sapila. In Kuḍa No. 6, the sons of Sıvama bear the names Sulasadatta, Sivapālita, Sivadatta, and Sappila. His four daughters bear the same names.[42] The practice of naming the grandsons after the grand-fathers was very common and it is noteworthy that ladies sometimes bear the names of their husband's masters.[43]

Place Names

Many of the places mentioned in the western cave inscriptions can be identified. Govadhana (Govardhana), the headquarters of Govardhanāhāra, is the large modern village of Govardhan-Gaṅgapur six miles west of Nāsik. Kāpura, the headquarters of Kāpurāhāra mentioned as a place where Uṣavadāta bestowed gifts on Brahmans, is, according to Bhandarkar, the Kāpura mentioned as the name of both the district and the headquarters on a copper-plate grant of the Traikūṭaka king Dharasena found at Pārḍī in the Surat collectorate.[44] Kāpura thus appears to correspond to the modern Surat district and was situated between the Sopāraga and Bharukaccha districts. It is possible that Kāpurāhāra and Kāpura are contraction for Kekāpurāhāra and Kekāpura mentioned also in an inscription of Uṣavadāta.[45] Dāhanūkānagara of Uṣavadāta's inscriptions is the modern Dāhanu in Ṭhāṇa zillā. It would therefore seem to have derived its name from the river Dāhanukā, also mentioned in an inscription of Uṣavadāta.[46] The various villages mentioned as having been situated in the Govadhanāhāra are Dhaṁbhikagāma in the Nāsik subdivision, or a suburb of Nāsik, Pisāji-

41. Burgess is of opinion that the explanation of the names Kapaṇaṇaka and Agiyataṇaka (Nāsik No. 4, ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 99) is doubtful. As 'aṇaka' is a common name ending, *kapaṇa* Sanskrit *kṛpaṇa* is what we have to consider. Rapson thinks that Agiyataṇaka is perhaps Sanskrit *Aṅgikatrātā* the saviour of the Aṅgas (CIC, *Andhras and Western Kṣātrāpas,* etc.; xxi). It is more probable that 'aṇaka' is here as elsewhere a name ending, and Agiyata is a Prākṛt form and condensation of *Agiyatatā* Sanskrit *Aṅgikatrātā.*

42. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 85. However one son is called Sapila, whilst the daughter bears the names Sapā.

43. Kuḍā, No. 9, CTI.

44. IA, Vol. XLVII, p. 78.

45. Lüders, *List,* No. 1135.

46. EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik, Cave Inscriptions, No. 10.

padaka on the south-west side of mount *Tiraṇhu* (*Triraśmi*),[47] and Sudisaṇa on the southern road in the Govardhana district.[48] The other places mentioned in Nāsik inscriptions are Chākalepa,[49] Piṁḍitakāvaḍa, Suvarṇamukha, Ramatīrtha near Sopāraga, Ceciṁña, Sākhā, Anugāmi and Daśapura. As regards Daśapura mentioned in the inscriptions of Uṣavadāta and Śaka Vudhika, Senart says: "I see no means of choosing between the Daśapura in Rajputana (Bühler), that in Malwa (Bhagwanlal), or others which might be added, as Mandasōr, *etc.* In No. 26 we see that some Śakas dwelt in that place; this is at least a hint that it ought to be searched for towards the north."[50] D. R. Bhandarkar prefers Mandasor since Uṣavadāta's inscriptions mention places in the

47. Nāsik, Nos. 12 and 20, EI, Vol. VIII.

48. As regards the two villages Senart remarks (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 65): "Buhler seems to entertain no doubt as to the identity of the village named here with that mentioned at the beginning of the following inscription. It is certain that the date of the donation mentioned there is exactly the same as in the present epigraph, and that this donation is made in favour of the same sect of Bhadāyaniyas. It is above all evident from the place it occupies, and from the fact that the following text has been compressed in order that it might be inscribed here, that that place has been chosen intentionally. It must, however, be stated that the village called here Pisājipadaka, i.e., I suppose Piśāchipadraka, gets in the following epigraph the name of Sudisaṇa, and that the description is not identical in both texts, Pisājipadaka being located at the S. W. of Tiraṇhupavata, and Sudisaṇa at the south of the Govadhanāhāra. The two may after all be the same; but the difference in the name and description deserves to be noted, especially because a perfect agreement would naturally be expected. Further No. 3 brings in the *Śramaṇas* from Dhanakaṭa, who are not mentioned in connection with the donation which No. 2 records. It is therefore impossible to affirm that the beginning of No. 3 refers to the present donation; nor is it absolutely impossible that the king should have consented on the same day to a double donation, although it would, in that case, be difficult to understand why he should not have combined the mention of both." It has already been shown that there can be no connection between No. 3 and No. 2 as one records an official grant while the other records a non-official grant. Even the grant of the village of Sudisana was an official grant as the recording of it in the archives of the state is implied in the words '*Sud..... na gāmasa ca Sudasanāna vinibadhakārehi aṇatā*' (l.14). The non-mention of the previous donation in a separate inscription is of course inexplicable under the circumstances.

49. "Chhākalepa or Chhāgalepa, a village or a town, a region or clan; has not yet been identified...." (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 90). Lüders, *List*, Nos. 214, 477, 547; 626 and 937, make a place name more probable. On the analogy of Pārvatiya, Chākalepaka is more probable.

50. EI, Vol. VIII, p. 79.

pradakṣina order—Bharukacha, Daśapura, Govardhana, and Sopāraga. As Ujjain which was for some time the Śaka capital was included in Nahapāna's kingdom, the choice is between Mandasor near Ujjain and Daśapura in Malwa.

The places mentioned in the Junnar inscriptions which from the context of the inscriptions would seem to have been near the caves are Puvānadagāma, Koṇācika Vaḍālikā, the village of Mahāveja, the village of Seuraka. Kapicita would seem to be the name of the locality in which the cave containing the Junnar inscription No. 15 is situated.[51] Mānamukaḍa is the Mānmoḍi hill.

As regards Māmāḍa and Māmālāhāra[52] mentioned in Kārlā inscription Burgess remarks: "The name Māmāla is evidently the ancient form of the modern Māvaḷ (Māul): the change of medial *ma* to *va* is common in Marāthi; Māval being still the name of the tract along the Sāhyādri or Ghāṭ range, fully corresponds with the position of the ancient Māmāla. We have thus another proof that the lapse of two thousand years has not changed much the geographical names of Western India and its territorial divisions."[53] Vāluraka mentioned as village in Māmālāhāra designates, according to Burgess and Senart, the modern village of Kārḷā a few miles from the caves. It is probable that Vihāragaon which the caves overlook designates Vāluraka.

The places mentioned in the eastern inscriptions are however difficult of identification. Velagiri mentioned in the Jagayyapēṭa inscriptions would designate the modern village of Jagayyapēṭa, probably deriving its name from the hill on which the ruins of *Stūpa* complex stand. Toḍatūra of the same inscriptions was situated in the Kammākaraṭha. Mahākaṁdurūra would seem to have been outside Kammākaraṭha as unlike Toḍatūra it is not stated to be in the Kammākaraṭha.[54] The places mentioned at Amarāvati are Hiralūra, Kevurura, Kudūra, Turuḷūra,[55] Devaparavana, Mahava(ı)-nasa (e) la, Maheṁkhānāja, Narasa (se) la, Maṁdara and Rājagiri. The last mentioned would seem to be identical with Rāyasela; Virapura of the same inscriptions may be the Viripara of the Mayidavōlu

51. ASWI, Vol. IV, pp. 30 *ff.*

52. EI, Vol. VII, No. 19.

53. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 113, *n.* 4.

54. The situation Kammākaraṭha has been discussed in the chapter on the Ikṣvākus.

55. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl LVII, No 17 and EI, Vol. XV, p. 274, No. 56. What is read as Turugbura in this case is Turuḷura.

plates. As Chadaka is mentioned twice at Amarāvatī, and as Chadapavata is mentioned once in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription, they must not be far away from Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. A feature to be noted is the *ura* and *sela* ending in names. Amongst divisions may be mentioned Toṁpuki (?) district, Caraṭha and Aya-Sakasaṭhi [56] in which Suvarṇamukha was.

Military Arrangements

An Amarāvatī inscription of the third century B.C., speaks of a *Senāgopa* Mudukutala. In later times *Mahāsenāpatis* would sometimes seem to have been in charge of armies. The traditional fourfold division of the army mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela, obtained in the Sātavāhana dominions. An Amarāvatī rail pillar [57] shows vividly the art of war and military organization of these times. Cities were well defended with high walls, ramparts and gates. Walls and gateways were often built of brick and mortar and the gateways were surmounted by *toraṇas* as at Sāñci. In battle the foot soldiers armed with round shields, and short swords, with a band round their abdomen intended to protect them from the enemy's spears, led the army. The infantry was flanked by the cavalry and elephants and the rear was brought up by bowmen. Soldiers used sometimes long spears. The battle-axe is little different from that used in mediæval and modern times. Mallets also were used. While the cavalrymen and elephant drivers have turbans, the foot-soldiers have no turban. Does this indicate a higher status enjoyed by the cavalrymen and elephantmen?

II. Economic Conditions

Foreign Trade: Seaports: Eastern Ports

The eastern and western ports in the Sātavāhana empire were throbbing with trade, though the former were not either as many or as important as the latter. To take the eastern Deccan first, Ptolemy notes that Kantakossyla (Kaṇṭakasela of epigraphic records),[58] Koddūra (modern Gūḍūr in the Bandar taluq of the Kṛṣṇa district), and Allosygne were ports in the Maisôlia region which, according to the author of the *Periplus*, 'stretched a great way along

56. Lüders, *List*, No. 1339.
Lüders looks upon it as the name of a committee.

57. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XI, fig. 1.

58. Lüders, *List*, No. 1303, and EI, Vol. XX, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Inscriptions, F

the coast before the inland country'.[59] North of Allosygne was Apheterion, the starting-point of ships bound for Golden Chryse, i.e., Farther India, the Malay Peninsula and the Archipelago. A *stūpa* pillar fragment bearing an inscription of the time of Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi was found at Chinna Ganjam (Repalle taluq, Guntur district) near the sea-shore. A fragment of a *stūpa* pillar was also found at Kollitippa a few miles to the north of Chinna Ganjam. In the vicinity of Chinna Ganjam, Rea found the remains of three *stūpas*. As Jouveau-Dubreuil has pointed out, an inscription dated Śaka 1166 mentions Mōṭupalle as a port,[60] and Mōṭupalle is only three miles to the north-east of Chinna Ganjam. It is therefore highly probable that Mōṭupalle or its vicinity contained a port or ports[61] through which a part of the trade of the Maisōlia region flowed. And the Maisōlia region was also located between two great navigable rivers. Lower down the Maisōlia region also, there would seem to have been ports though their names have not been preserved. Coins bearing the device of ship with masts and the legends, '*sāmi Pu* (*ḷumā*) *visa*, and coins with *siṁha* device bearings the legends, '*sāmisa s* (*i*) *r* (*i*)' have been picked up on the Coromandel Coast between Madras and Cuddalore.[62] Rapson remarks: "The maritime traffic to which the type 'a Ship,' whether on Andhra, Pallava or Kurumbar coins, bears witness, is also attested by the large numbers of Roman coins which are found on the Coromandel Coast". Regarding the migration of the Hindu colonists to the Far East in the first century of the Christian era and later, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri remarks "………it seems……… probable that the movement towards the East was the work of the entire coastal tract on the eastern coast of the modern Presidency of Madras, and that the Āndhra Country in general, and the Kingdom of Vēṅgi with it, had a good share in this movement."[63] Krom

59. *The Periplus of the Erythraeān Sea*, ed. Schoff, Sec. 62.

60. 600 of AER 1909. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, Part 2, pp. 389 *ff*.

61. The inscription mentions the remission of taxes on articles of export and import at the harbour of Moṭupalle *alias* Bisyuyyakoṇḍapaṭṭaṇa. Nos. 601 and 602 mention a concession given to merchants at sea.

62. Regrding the coin G. P. 3, Pl. CIC, *Āndhrās and Western Kṣatrapas* etc., Rapson reads '——— (———) Pu (———)'. Says he (p. 24) "The restoration *ḷu* seems possible, but by no means certain." The two obliterated letters before *pu* are *sa* and *ma*. After *ḷu* there are traces of *ma*. We have then '*sami--Puḷu(ma)*. . . . .', Regarding, G. P. 2 Pl. V. Rapson reads *sara*[———] (X) *Samisa*. The more plausible way of reading the legends is *Samisa Siri*(———).

63. *Telugu Academy Silver Jubilee Volume* (English Sec.) p. 11.

remarks: "We understand from Vogel's study, that the history of the Pallava princes first attains prominence at a time which must be considerably later than the first setting out of the Hindus towards the east; direct connection between the data here and those from the other side is not thus to be expected." Again: "What we know of the history the Pallavas concerns the later fortunes of a land which must have served as the starting-point for the trade voyages of the Hindus towards the East; they do not relate to that period when such expeditions had their beginning. We are thus at a time much earlier than Śivaskandavarman, and it is wholly uncertain if the dynasty or the kingdom of the Pallavas in general can be taken to a time earlier than the fourth century; and none can guarantee that the Pallava script was begun by the Pallavas or during their rule and had not received earlier the characteristic traits which distinguish it from other scripts......We must leave open the possibility that the 'Pallava' script was brought to foreign lands not from the Pallava kingdom itself but from a kingdom which preceded it in the same locality." [64]

Western Ports

According to the author of the *Periplus* Barygaza, the Bharukacha of a Junnar inscription [65] and modern Broach, and at his time a Śaka port, was the northern-most port in the Dachinabades.[66] Its imports and exports so graphically described by him are: Italian, Laodecian and Arabian wine, copper, tin, lead, coral, topaz, fine and rough cloth, storax, sweet clover, flint, glass, realgar, antimony; gold and silver coin, "on which there is a profit when exchanged for the money of the country," and small quantities of ointments.[67] For the use of the Śaka Satraps were brought very costly vessels of silver, fine wines, beautiful maidens of the harem, thin clothing of the finest weaves, and the choicest ointments. The exports were spikenard, costus, bdellium, ivory, agate, cornelian, lycium, silk cloth, mallow cloth, long pepper; and "such other thing as are brought from the various market towns. "He adds: "Those bound for this market-town from Egypt make the voyage favourably about the month of July, that is Epiphi." The inland commer-

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

65. No. 19, ASWI, Vol. IV. It records the foundation of a two-celled cave by the brothers Budhamita and Buddharakhita (Buddhista) of the Laṁkuḍiyas, and sons of Asasama (Aśvaśarman), the Bharukachas,

66. *Op. cit.*, sec. 51.

67. *Op. cit.*, sec. 49.

cial *entrepots* from which streams of trade flowed to Barygaza are Ozene, Paethan and Tagara. To quote the author of the *Periplus*: "There are brought down to Barygaza from these places by waggons and through great tracts without roads, from Paethana carnelian in great quantity and, from Tagara much common cloth, all kinds of muslins and mallow cloth, and other merchandise brought there locally from the regions along the sea-coast."[68] Tagara has been identified by Dr. Fleet with modern Tēr or Thair.[69] The question arises why

68. *Op. cit*, sec. 51.

69. JRAS, 1901, pp. 537 *ff.*

Bhagwanlal Indraji identified Tagara with modern Junnar, IA, Vol. XIII, p. 336. Fleet has identified it with Tēr on the following grounds: Tēr or Thair represents a variation of Tagara which is mentioned under that name in two Śilāhara records (EI., Vol. III, pp. 267 and 273, ll. 43–44 and CTI, P.p. 102–103, ll. 26–27); the author of the *Priplus* says that Tagara is nine days' journey from Paithān. As Paithān is twenty days' journey from Broach, and Tēr is half as distant from Paithān as Pathān is from Broach, there can be no objection to the identification modern Tēr is as big a town as Paithān,

Fleet continues (p. 548): "A study of the maps has shown me the former existence of an early trading route, of which well-marked traces still remain, from the east coast through Golconda or Haidarābād, Tēr and Paiṭhaṇ, to Broach...... There were two starting-points. One was Masulipatam, on the coast, in the northern part of the Kistna district; and the road from this place took, not only the local traffic from the coast districts, on the north of the Kṛiṣṇā but also the sea-borne traffic from the far east. The other starting point was probably Vinukoṇḍa, inland, in the southern part of the same disrtict, which would serve admirably as a collecting centre for the local products of the sea-side country on the south of Kṛiṣṇā. The roads from these two places joined each other at a point about twentysix miles towards the east-by-south from Haidarābād, or perhaps at a point about twenty-three miles further in the same direction. And from that point the single road ran in the most natural manner, through easy country *via* Haidarābād, Kalyāni, Tēr; Paiṭhan and Daulatabad, to 'Chandore' and Mārkiṇḍa in the west of the Nāsik district. And only there, in the Western Ghauts...... commenced the real difficulties of the journey......"

According to the author of the *Periplus* most of the seaport towns, especially Barygaza, were connected with inland market-towns like Paethana, and Tagara by great tracts without roads; and waggons drawn by bullocks could do only twenty miles a day. This might have been the case. But the difficult nature of the country described has to be taken into account. Nāsik official records speak of roads. We have the benefactions of the natives of Nāsik at Barhut of Vaijayanti at Kārlā, of Bharukacha and Kalyāṇ at Junnar, of Sopārā at Nāṇeghāt and Kārla. Uṣavadāta's constant and wide pilgrimages in the north-western parts are well-known. It is

should goods from Tagara and Paethan be sent to a distant port like Barygaza, in preference to the ports of Kalyāṇ and Sopāra which were less distant. Was it because as the author of the *Peripuls* himself says the Śakas had closed the port (Sātavāhana port) of Kalyāṇ? According to the author of the *Periplus* again from Ozene were brought to Barygaza all things needed for foreign trade.—agate, cornelian, Indian muslins, mallow cloth, and much ordinary cloth.

Below Barygaza stood the Sātavāhana port of Sopāra, the Soupara of Ptolemy, the Sūpara of the *Periplus*, the Sopāraka or Sopāraga of epigraphic records and modern Sopāra, a few miles to the north of Bombay. Of the two Kaṇhēri records which mention the place, one mentions a jeweller and the other a merchant from Sopāra. The Sāgarapaloganas (?) of a Kaṇhēri inscription[70] are probably the sea-faring traders at Kalyāṇ or Sopāra.

Sopāra would seem to have been a port of great antiquity. It is mentioned as Supārapaṭṭaṇa in the *Mahāvaṁsa*.[71] The early Buddhist story of Pūrṇamaitra speaks of Sopāraka as a great seaport and the residence of a king Pūrṇa, a very prosperous merchant of the city, who had made several successful voyages in the great ocean. The Buddha is said to have visited the town and preached his law to two Nāga kings there. Pūrṇamaitra Yanīputra built a *vihāra* to the Buddha.[72] There are at Sopāra even to-day the remains of Buddhist *Stūpa*.[73] Jaina literature and the *Rāmāyaṇa* also mention Sopāra.[74]

The greatest port in Sātavāhana western Deccan was Kalyāṇ, on the eastern shore of the Bombay harbour, the Kaliaṇa of inscriptions and the Calliene of the *Periplus*.[75] Of the two Junnar inscriptions mentioning Kalyāṇ, one records gifts by a trader and the other gifts by a goldsmith, from Kalyān. Of the seven inscriptions at

therefore probable that the less mountainous country was covered with roads whilst in the mountainous regions only great tracts without roads were found possible.

70. ASWI, Vol. V, No. 23.

71. VI. 1, 46. The *Mahāvaṁsa* is not older than the fifth century A D. But it embodies earlier tradition.

72. IA, Vol. XI, pp. 293-94.

73. *Antiquities of Sopāra*, by Bhagwanlal Indraji, pp. 4 *ff*.

74. *Ibid.*

75. The various forms in inscriptions are Kaliaña, Junnar Nos. 11 and 13, ASWI, Vol. IV; Kālyāṇa, Kaṇhēri No. 15; Kāliana, Kanhēri No. 5; Kaliaṇa, Kaṇhēri No. 18; Kāliyina, Kanheri No. 25; ASWI, Vol .V. These are Prākṛtic variations of *Kālyāṇa* meaning 'blest'.

Kaṇhēri mentioning the port, four record gifts by merchants or their sons, and two record gifts by artisans (goldsmith and blacksmith). It is clear that Kalyāṇ was a prosperous trading and industrial centre. This is also known from the fact that the Śakas captured it with a view to destroy the resources of their enemies, the Sātavāhanas. Of the three dated inscriptions at Kaṇhēri two are dated in regnal years of Māḍharīputa Sakasena and one in the regnal years of Siri-Yāña Sātakaṇi (after 160 A.D.). Could we infer that as the port was closed by the Śakas in the closing years of the first century A.D. it was not functioning as a port when Ptolemy wrote, and that it regained its old position in the reigns of Māḍharīputa Sakasena and Siri-Yaña? As late as the sixth century A.D. Cosmas Indicopleustes found it one of the five chief marts of western India and the capital of the powerful Chāḷukya kings with a trade in brass, blackwood logs, and articles of clothing.

The other ports mentioned by the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy and identified with places in the Sātavāhana western Deccan are: Mandagora (Mandaragiri) identified with Bānkot at the mouth of the Sāvitri river, and now a fishing village of no importance; Palaepatmae (Ptolemy's Balipatna) probably modern Dābhol; Melizagara (Malayagiri) placed by McCrindle and Müller at the modern Jaigarh, formerly a port of importance but now little more that a fishing village, and by Schoff at the modern Rājpur near which the Kuḍā caves are situated; simylla (the Symulla of Ptolemy, the Chimulo of Yuan Chwang and the Cemula of two Kaṇheri inscriptions),[76] certainly modern Chāul about twenty-five miles south of the Bombay harbour; Hippokura,[77] which Campbell would identify with Ghoregaon in Kolāba; and Byzantion identified with Vijayadurga the south entrance of the Vāghoṭan river.[78]

Market-towns in the interior: Western-Deccan

The market-towns in the interior besides Paithān and Tagara were Junnar,[79] Karahākaṭa,[80] Nasik,[81] Govardhana,[82] and Vejayantī.[83]

76. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 996 and 1033.

77. Hippokura is not mentioned in the *Periplus*, It is however different from the capital of Baleokuros mentioned by Ptolemy. The latter is an inland town.

78. IA, Vol. XIII, p. 327.

79, 80, 81, 82 & 83. The inscriptions at Junnar refer to a town near the caves., and Junnar is situated in a pass in the Western Ghāṭs, which is on

Eastern Deccan

The market towns in the eastern Deccan would seem to have been not as many or as important as those in the western Deccan. Even as early as the third or the second century B.C., Dhaññakaṭaka was a market-town. In some Amarāvatī inscriptions Kevurūra, Vijayapura and Nārasala (sela?) are mentioned as the residence of merchants. Lüders, No. 1261 mentions a *seṭhipamukha* and a member of a guild of merchants from Cadaka.[84]

Merchants

Merchants are generally all called *vaṇija* or *negama.*[85] A member of a guild of merchants is known as *nigama*; the alderman of the guild is called *seṭhin* (Sans. *śreṣṭhin*). *Sathavāha* (Sans. *Sārthavāha*) means 'caravan trader'. The wife of a *vaṇiya* is called *vaṇiyinī*, and the wife of a *sathavāha*, a *sātakavāhinī.*[86]

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the line of communication through the Nāṇeghaṭ pass to the ports in the west. Moreover in the Junnar caves a number of *seṇis* or guilds are mentioned. The traveller's rest house at Nāṇeghāt shows undoubtedly that much trade flowed through it. A Sopāraga-executed a cistern at Nāṇeghāt hill (Lüders, *List*, No. 1119) called the Satagara mountain in another inscription. (JBBRAS, Vol. XV, pp. 313 *ff*). (80) Modern Karāḍh 70 miles from Mahāḍ. It is mentioned as a *nigama* in a Barhut inscription (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Barhut*, p. 131, No. 16); it is mentioned also in a Kuḍā inscription as the residence of an ironmonger (ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 87, No. 18). (81) A Bāḍsā inscription speaks of a *seṭhi* from Nāsik (ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 89 No. 1). (82) An inscription of Uṣavadāta mentions a number of guilds, and the guildhall (*nigamasabhā*) at Govadhana (Nāsik No. 12, EI, Vol VIII). (83) *Vide supra.*

84. The inscription (No. 1261) runs as follows: "*Cadakicasa seṭhipāmukhasa (bha)-daniga(ma)sa súci dāna.*" Lüders translates it as follows: "the gift of a rail bar by the pious town Chadakica." On the analogy of Junnar No. 4, (ASWI, Vol. IV) where Viraseṇaka is a personal name and *dhaṁmanigama* has therefore to be interpreted as 'the member of Buddhist guild of merchants' as pointed out by Senart, *bhadanigama* has to be interpreted as 'members of a Buddhist :guild merchant.' *Chadakicasa* would then mean 'native of Chadaka' and *sethipamukhasa* prominent among the *seṭhis*'. Instances of the omission of the personal name in votive inscriptions are not wanting.

85. In Lüders, *List*, No. 987, both *vaṇijaka* and *negama* are used in such a way as to show that they had identical meaning.

86. *Ibid.*, No. 30.

In our epigraphs merchants bear the title of *gahapati, gahata* (Sans. *gṛhasta*) being a title applied to Brahmans who had passed the pupil or the *Brahmacarya* stage.[87] According to Senart the use of *gahapati* (Sans, *gṛhapati*) in Nāsik No. 6 " favours the opinion I have formerly stated, and which I must maintain against the doubts that have been raised by a learned opponent (Fick, *Sociale Gliederung zu Buddha's Zeit.*, p. 164), *viz.* that *gṛihapatī* is, in the Buddhist language, specially restricted to people of various castes, who are included in the large class of Vaiśyas." In the *Saptaśatakaṁ* we have references to the philandering of the *gahapati* with a girl of the *hālika* class;[88] a Śailārwāḍi inscription mentions a *hālakiya* (cultivator) *kuḍubika Uṣabaṇaka* whose son is called *gahapati.*[89] In Kaṇhēri No. 15 and Nasik No. 6, the wives of *negamas* are called *kuṭumbinis.* Therefore *kuṭuṁbika* and *gahapati* are identical titles applied to persons of the cultivator class also. In Nāsik Nos. 11 and 13, the wife of Rṣabhadatta styles herself *kuṭumbini.*[90] Does this show that the word also meant wife, or does it show that the Kṣatriyas also styled themselves as *kuṭubīn* and *kuṭubinī*?[91] Later on *kuṭuṁbin* came to mean 'cultivator.' A point against Senart's conclusion is that in the Amarāvatī inscriptions many a *gahapati* and merchant is mentioned, yet we have only one instance of the father of a *vaṇiya* bearing the title of *gahapati*, but even here the latter is not styled a *vaṇija.* In the western cave inscriptions too, not all the merchants bear the title of *gahapati.*

Coins and Trade

If the state of trade, internal and external, can be judged by the coinage i.e., by the variety and number of coins used or issued, it would appear that western Deccan throbbed most with trade and industry during the period of the early Sātavāhanas (third and second centuries B.C.), and during the first period of Kṣatrapa occupation (first century). The Nāṇeghāṭ inscription of queen Nāyanikā describes the *dakṣiṇas* given on the occasion of the various sacrifices performed by the queen and her husband Siri-Sātakaṇi I. They are 1700 cows and 10 elephants, 11000 cows, 1000 horses, 17

87. *Ibid.*, 1091.

88. II, 7, vi, 100.

89, CTI, No. 1, p. 38.

90. ASWI, Vol. V, Kaṇhēri Inscriptions, EI, Vol. VIII, Nāsik cave Inscriptions.

91. Does it indicate that she was a laic?

silver pots and 14000 *kārṣāpaṇas*, one horse chariot, 30002 cows, silver ornaments and dresses, 1100 cows on three occasions, 1000 cows on four occasions, 40001 *kārṣāpaṇas* on three occasions, 12 golden........?, and 14000 (?) *kārṣāpaṇas* etc.[92] As for the first period of Kṣatrapa occupation, do we not possess a hoard of Nahapāna's silver coins? Does not Uṣavadāta endow large sums of money, viz., 70,000 *kārṣāpaṇas* and 3000 *kārṣāpaṇas*? The vast trade of the period is also indicated by the other charities of Usavadāta.[93] Some may be inclined to look upon them as the results of oppressive taxation or succcessful wars.

We have not a single Sātavāhana coin of the period from the first century B.C. to the reign of Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi (end of the first century A.D.). Even the latter only restruck the coins of Nahapana unless it be that some copper coins attributed by Rapson doubtfully to him, were struck by him. Even among the coins of the later Sātavāhanas from western India, we have more coins from the Chanda district (Central Provinces), than from Mahārāṣṭra, and Aparānta.

Eastern Deccan where lead coinage predominates over copper and where not even a single silver coin has been picked up,[94] would seem to have entered upon an epoch of great commercial and industrial activity during the reign or Puḷumāvi II, an activity which reached its culminating point in the reign of Siri-Yaña. Puḷumāvi issued $\frac{1}{16}$; $\frac{1}{4}$; $\frac{3}{8}$; $\frac{1}{2}$; $\frac{5}{8}$; $\frac{3}{4}$; $\frac{7}{8}$; 1, *kārṣāpaṇas.*[95] The regin of Siri-Yaña not only saw the issue of a large number of coins which an empire from sea to sea demanded, but a correspondingly larger issue in the *Āndhradeśa* than in the western Deccan. In addition to coins of the denominations already mentiond $1\frac{1}{8}$, and

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92. Rapson has pointed out that the *kārṣāpaṇas* of this inscription, as well as those of Kaṇhēri No. 15 (ASWI, Vol. V) and Nāsik inscriptions of Uṣavādata, are silver *kārṣāpaṇās* CIC, *Andhras and Western Kṣatrapas*, etc., clxxxiii, n. 1. The ratio was 35 *kārṣāpāṇās* to one *Sūvārṇā*.

93. Nāsik Nos. 10, 12 and 14a, EI, Vol. VIII.

94. The Allūru inscription which is a composite record of gifts, mentions an investment of 1000 *kārṣāpaṇas* as permanent endowment. As this is mentioned along with a gift of 53, 32 and 24 *nivartanas* of land and 500 cows, 64 bullock carts, some Greek lamps and a tank, it is all but certain that only silver *kārṣāpaṇas* are meant. It must be noted that this is the only inscription where a *kārṣāpaṇa* is called *purāṇa* or old coin.

95. 1/16 is more probable than 1/12, as the other denominations follow the division into 16, and as an inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa mentions *dināri-māṣākas*. *Māṣaka* is the weight five *ratis* and 16 *māṣakas*=1 *kārṣa*.

1¾, *kārṣāpaṇas* were issued, an indication of increased trade.[96] Māḍharīputa Sakasena's and Caḍa Sāti's reigns did not witness such varied and large issues. The large lead and potin coins from Kolhāpur, also attest a busy trade in the south-western part of the empire which was left under feudatories.

Industrial and Commercial Organization

The inscriptions introduce us to various classes of workers—*dhaṁñikas* (corn-dealers), *mālākāras* (florists), *kolikas* (weavers), *tilāpiṣakas* (oilpressers), *odayantrikas* (fabricators of hydraulic engines), *kāsākāras* (braziers), *tesakāras* (polishers), *kamāras* (iron-workers), *lohavāṇiyas* (iron-mongers), *kularikas* (potters ?),[97] *avesaṇis* (artisans), and *lekhākas* (writers) some of whom were in the service of kings and *Mahābhojas, Caṁmakāras* (leather-workers), *gadhikas* (perfumers), *suvaṇakāras* (goldsmiths), *maṇikāras* (jewellers), *miṭhikas* (stonepolishers), *selavaḍhakins* (stone-masons), and *vaḍhakis* (carpenters). Workers connected with buildings are *nāyagamisas, kaḍhicakas,*[98] and *mahākaṭakas*. Among these workers only *gadhikas, kāmmakāras, avesaṇis* and *lekhakas,* are mentioned in epigraphs from the eastern Deccan.

Most of these craftsmen were as well-to-do as the craftsmen of the Middle Ages. Their artistic taste was something unsurpassed.[99] It is to their munificence that we owe some of the Buddhist monuments of our period.[100]

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96. It is here necessary to bear in mind the remark of Rapson that: ".... it is important to insist on the fact that any supposed uniformity in the weightstandards of the ancient coins of India appears on examination to be quite illusory. It is impossible to read the various passages quoted from Sanskrit authors in the *Vacāspatya* Dictionary, *s.v.* 'karṣa,' without realising that the diversity of weights may have been very considerable. This diversity seems certainly also to be proved by the actual specimens, many of which cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be satisfactorily assigned to any particular denomination." (*op. cit*., clxxxii).

97. "For *kularika* at least I see 'nothing better than Bühler's conjecture, taking it to be, *kulāla*='a potter'." Senart, EI., Vol. VIII, p. 89.

98. According to Bühler, *kaḍhicaka* may be the Gujerati *kaḍhiyo*=bricklayer.

99. A *gadhika* has lavished all his art on an Amarāvati pillar (TSW, 1868 Pl. LXXXIX).

100. Mugudāsa, a fisherman (*dāsa*), excavates a cave at Nāsik (Nāsik Nos, 8 and 9, EI, Vol. VIII), As the donation of one cave is mentioned in two epigraphs Senart thinks that the word *leṇa* in No. 9, points no more to the verandah but "to the cell which the same donor Mugūdāsa, must have

Some and perhaps most of the crafts and trades mentioned above were organized into guilds. We hear of a *Dhaṁñikaseṇi*, a *Kāsākāraseṇi*, and a *Tesakāraseṇi* in Junnar inscriptions; *Kolikaṇikāyaseṇis* at Govardhana; of a *Kularikaseṇi*, a *Tilapiṣakaseṇi*, and an *Odayantrikaseṇi* we hear in an inscription from Nāsik. Each guild had an alderman called *seṭhin* (*śreṣṭhin*).[101] Guilds had their office in the town-hall or *nigamasabhā*. Uṣavadāta's investment in guilds were read (*srāvita*), and registered in the *nigamasabha*.[102] Permanent endowments,[103] especially in favour of religious institutions were sometimes invested in fields, and sometimes in these guilds. Since Uṣavdāta invests some of his religious charities in guilds, does it mean that the guilds were looked upon as very stable organizations, as stable, if not more so than the government.

In India the rate of interest is stated monthly.[104] Some of our western cave inscriptions show conformity to this method. A Junnar inscription mentions investment of money in two guilds at the rate of *paōnaduka māsa* in one guild at the rate of *paōmāsa* in the other. Uṣavadāta invested two thousand *kārṣāpaṇas* in one weaver's guild at Govardhana, at the rate of *pratika* per cent (12% per annum), and 1000 *kārṣāpaṇas* in another weaver's guild at the same place at ¾ *pratika* per cent (9%). But the normal rate of interest would seem to have been 12 per cent per annum.[105] Guilds were like the goldsmiths of the Middle ages in Europe bankers receiving deposits and lending out money.

Land

In the Sātavāhana empire, as in India at all times, agriculture was the main industry. Western and eastern inscriptions record

added to his cave. This interpretation seems the more tempting as the second donation has for its object, to supply with clothes the *pavajita* i.e., the monk residing in the cell." But in our epigraphs there is not a single instance of the confusion between *leṇa* and *ovaraka*; and the money for clothes is to be applied to the monk or monks living in the cave. It is possible that while making another donation for monks, the previous donation was recapitulated.

101. Lüders translates *seṭhin* as 'banker'.

102. A Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscription mentions a *negama* (guild), and o number of persons, the members of the guilds. (EI, Vol. II, No. VII d.)

103. *Akhayanivi*. We do not hear of permanent endowments in the Amarāvatī, Jagayyapēṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. The Allūru inscription however mentions it.

104. Manu, VIII, v. 141.

105. Nāsik, No. 17, EI, Vol. VIII, Kaṇhēri No. 15, ASWI, Vol. V.

gifts of villages and fields (for cultivation and plantation of trees) to monastic institutions. The king had what in the Middle Ages was called the royal domain.[106] The king did not expropriate the lands of the subjects but bought them, even when whole villages were granted to monastic institutions.[107]

Sometimes the field was possessed by more than one person; the share of each person in the field was specified in fractions of a *paṇa*. A Kaṇheri inscription mentions the owner of an *ādhapaṇakheta*.[108]

Land was subject to more than one tax.[109] Salt was a royal monopoly.[110]

III. Religion

Buddhism in Eastern Deccan

The *stūpas* at Allūru, Gummadidurru, Ghaṇṭaśālā, Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Guḍivāḍa, and Gōli, and the Amarāvatī sculptures and epigraphs give us in their own way the history of Buddhism in *Āndhradeśa* from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. Much credence may not be placed in the story that the Buddha miraculously visited the *Āndhradeśa*.[111] As *Āndhradeśa* is not mentioned among the countries to which monks were sent by Tissa after the Third Council and as the Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscriptions show that even before 200 B.C. *Āndhradeśa* had become a stronghold of Buddhism, it is very probable that it embraced Buddhism long before the time of the Third Council and the reign of Asoka. It is also probable that Buddhism spread more quickly among the non-Aryan Āndhra tribes than in Aryan societies. A feature of Bhaṭṭiprōlu Buddhism is the worship of the relics of the Buddha (*sarira*) placed in crystal caskets which were in turn placed in stone caskets. The faithful in each village organised themselves into groups e.g. *Ṣihagoṭhi, Aya-Sakasaṭhigoṭhi* etc.[112]

The objects of worship at Amarāvatī are the *stūpas*, small and big, the sacred tree with the empty throne, the footprints (*pāduka*) of the great teacher on a stool in front of the throne,[113] the *triśūla*

106. Nāsik, No. 5, Vol. VIII: *etha nagarasime rājakaṁ kheta.*
107. Nāsik, No. 12.
108. ASWI, Vol. V, p. 79, No. 15.
109. EI, Vol. VII, Kārlā No. 14.
110. EI, Vol. VIII, Nasik Nos. 3, 4, and 5.
111. Watters, *On Ywan-Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 209.
112. *Bodhagōṭhi*. Lüders, *List*, No. 234 and 351.
113. The footmarks of the Buddha have been objects of worship among

emblem,[114] the *Dhaṁmacakka* on a pillar with an empty throne before it, relics of the Buddha and great teachers, *Sothikapaṭas* (sans. *Svastikapaṭṭas*),[115] the Buddha or Nāga Rājā with the snake hoods above his head, life size statues of the Buddha, and the Buddha preaching. These objects of worship are often found in the open and sometimes in the midst of a hall with *caitya* arches and rail pattern bands.[116] To these objects of worship offerings of cloth, flowers and liquids, brought in vessels of attractive shapes were made by the rich and the poor, young and old, men and women. Pilgrimages to Buddhist centres would seem to have been the order of the day. Men and women are represented in sculptures as being in ecstatic devotion. The common way of worshipping is kneeling before the object with joined hands. Sometimes it is falling flat on the ground.

The Nāga cult in Buddhism is also noteworthy. Serpents are represented as entwining *stūpas*. Nāgas and Nāga Rājās and their wives are represented as worshipping the *stūpa* and hearing the sermons of the master. Both at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, the Buddha is represented as seated on Nāgās with their hoods just above his head. As there is no halo behind these figures, and as Nāgas are sometimes represented on *stūpa* slabs, in the place of the Buddha preaching, as the figures under mention have turbans and

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his followers from very early times. "And special representations of it supposed to have been left by the Buddha himself as that on Adam's Peak in Ceylon were objects of pilgrimage. And the legends that enumerate the thirty-two marks of personal beauty or superiority ascribed to the Buddha, specially mention two beautiful brilliant wheels (*cakra*) with a thousand rays on the soles of his feet." But though the essential feature in the representation of this footmark called *caraṇa-nyāsa* or *Śākya-caraṇa* is the *cakra* on the middle of the sole, there were almost always others also and in the eastern peninsula they have been multiplied largely. The *Saptaśatakaṁ* speaks of the worship of the feet of the Buddha (g. 308).

114. Regarding the *triśūla* emblem and the pillar supporting it Burgess says (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 30): "The sides of the pillar supporting the triśūla are always represented as in flames, and, as Mr. Fergusson has remarked, this seems to be the counterpart of the Agni-liṅga of Śiva." An examination of the sculptures shows clearly that what is taken to represent flames, is only a representation of twisted cloth, much like that worn by men round their waist and hanging from the top of the pillar. In one of the sculptures (TSW, 1865 Pl. LVIII, No. 2) offerings of cloth to the tree is represented.

115. In the Bhaṭṭiprōlu *Stūpa* 24 silver coins arranged in the Svastika shape were found along with other relics. (Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Pl. IV, p. 12).

116. ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XXI, 2.

no upper cloth, it is probable that they are Nāga Rājas. One is tempted to identify them with Nāgārjuna, but the snake cult was so widely prevalent in these parts that such an interpretation must remain doubtful until fresh evidence turns up. As we shall see, any supposed connection between Nāgārjuna P'usa and the *Āndhradeśa* of the second century A.D., is open to doubt.

Western Deccan

The earliest Buddhist remains from western Deccan come from Pitalkhorā and Kolhāpur. The former has yielded us a number of caves and epigraphs which palaeographically belong to the third century B.C., and which record the gifts of Buddhists from Paithān and other places. (The most prominent among the donors is a royal physician). The Kolhāpur *Stūpa* has yielded a stone box and relic casket on the square lid of which is cut in pure Maurya characters (earlier than the Pitalkhorā inscription), the inscription:

Baṁhasa dānaṁ
Dhamayutena kāritaṁ.

In one of his former births the Buddha is said to have gone to Suppāra, in Aparānta or north Koṅkaṇ, at the request of Pūrṇa, the son of a slave girl, who had risen to be one of the chief merchants of Suppāra; then a Brahman and some widows got relics over which they built a *Stūpa*.

Bhagwanlal Indraji has excavated the remains of a *Stūpa* at Sopāra. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa* and a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription, Aparānta was converted by a missionary Dhaṁmarakhita, a Yavana sent by Tissa after the Third Council. Pitalkhorā and Kolhapur show that Buddhism had made rapid strides in western Deccan even before the Third Council. Next in age to Pitalkhorā come Nāsik, Bhāja, and Beḍsā. The Kārlā *Caitya* cave belongs to the first century B.C. It is however the first and second centuries A.D. that constitute the glorious epoch of Buddhism in the western Deccan. Kings patronised various sects. Rival powers vied with each other in scooping *vihāras* or caves at Nāsik, and in making grants of villages, lands, and money to monks spending the *vassa* in such caves. *Mahābhojas*, *Mahāraṭhis*, ministers, and minor officials, merchants, craftsmen and ladies of all rank and denominations, vied with one another in making donations to the order. Monks and nuns vied with laymen in donating caves, cisterns, *caityas*, stūpa-marbles and permanent endowments.[117] They readily joined with

117. Kaṇhēri Nos. 17 and 21, ASWI, Vol. V.

laymen in such enterprises. No less than six monks and nuns joined hands with Yavanas and laymen from Vejayantī, Nāsik, etc., in constructing the Kārlā *Cetiyaghara*. Were these expenses met from the savings effected out of the cloth money and the *kuśaṇamūla* given to them? Did enterprising monks who were enjoined to beg for alms only, go about collecting money for such pious works? Whatever might have been the case, the possession of money by monks and nuns was evidence of relaxation of the rigid rules of the Order. The Buddhist monuments at Kuḍā, Mahāḍ, Kol, Bhāja, Bēḍsā, Kārlā, Junnar, Nāsik, and Kaṇhēri are such donations. A Kaṇhēri inscription mentions the construction of a *Cetiyaghara*, *upathāṇasālā* (hall of reception), three cells in the *Abālikāvihāra* at Kalyān, a *Cetiyaghara* and thirteen cells at some *vihāra* at Patiṭhāna, a *kuṭi* (temple), and a *koḍhi* (hall) at *Rājatalāka* in *Paiṭhāṇapatha*, and a *saghārāma* at the *vihāra* at Sadasevāju (?)[118]

Sects: Buddhist Sects in western Deccan

Our epigraphs introduce us to a number of sects. The Bhadāyaniyas were the most favoured at Nāsik and at Kaṇhēri. Dhammottariyas flourished at Sopāra and in the town near the Junnar caves. The Mahāsāṁghikas had their stronghold at Kārlā and its vicinity. Both Bhadāyaniya and Dhammottariya are subdivisions of the Theravāda school. In two Junnar inscriptions we have *Sidhagaṇeṣu Aparājiteṣu* and *Apajiteṣu gaṇe*.[119] *Apajiteṣu* is evidently a mistake of the scribe or the engraver for *Aparājiteṣu*. *Siddhagaṇa* denotes a holy assembly. Another Junnar inscription[120] mentions a *gaṇācāryā*. As in our inscriptions teachers are generally mentioned with reference to sects,[121] *gaṇa* of the inscriptions under reference also refers to a school or sect. The Aparājita sect is not mentioned in the books.

It does not however mean that only one sect flourished at a place or in a group of caves. Caitikas flourished at Nāsik, and Uṣavadāta's inscriptions show that monks of different sects kept the *vassa* in the same cave. We know that Mahiśāsakas, Bahusutiyas, Aparamahāvinaseliyas and Ceylonese monks and nuns lived in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley. A preacher of the Dhammottarīya sect donates

118. Lüders, *List*, No. 988.

119. ASWI, Vol. IV, Nos. 25 and 20.

120. No. 17.

121. ASSI, Vol. I, No. 49, p. 105; ASWI, Vol. V, No. 4, pp. 75*ff*. ASR 1906–07, pp. 96*ff*; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1158 and 1171.

a pillar of the Kārlā *Cetiyaghara* which would seem to have been the property of the Mahāsāṁghikas.

Unlike Gotamīputa Siri-Satakaṇi and Puḷumāvi II, Uṣavadāta patronised all the sects. At Kārḷā and Nāsik, the benefits of his donations are assigned to ascetics of every denomination or residence, who could be brought to take their abode in the caves at Kārlā and Nāsik, along with their resident hosts, during the *vassa*.[122] Another foreigner donates a *navagabha maṇḍapā* at Kārlā to the *Saṁgha* as the special property of the Mahāsāṁghikas. Senart remarks that this grant seems "to stipulate that gifts attributed to particular sects should be meant for monks of every origin and of every denomination without distinction; compare No. 13, 1.4"[123] On the other hand Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's donation at Kārlā is 'for the support of the sect of the Mahāsāṁghikās of the mendicant friars dwelling here in (*these*) caves of Valūraka. . . . .' Balasirī's cave at Nāsik was for the acceptance of the Bhadāyaniyas. The official grants of land or village recorded in Nāsik Nos. 3, 4, and 5, were in favour of the same sect.

Eastern Deccan

The Amarāvatī epigraphs mention some sects that flourished during the Sātavāhana period. The earliest among them would seem to be that of Caityavaṁda (Caityavada), or Cetika, or Cetikiya, which is mentioned in four epigraphs. This is the only sect mentioned both in eastern and western inscriptions. Since an Amaravatī epigraph speaks of Cetikas at Rājagiri, and as the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* mentions Rājagirika as one of the Āndhaka sects, it is probable that this sect was an offshoot of the Cetika *nikāya*. Whilst the Pubbasela (mentioned in the Allūru inscription), and Avarasela schools, (Āndhaka schools), are known to the commentator on the *Kathāvatthu*, the Mahāvinasela (not to speak of its later offshoot Aparamahāvinasela) and Ayira-Utayipabhāhā *nikāyas*[124]

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122 *Eto mama leṇe vasatānaṁ cātudisasa bhikhusaghasa mukhāhāro bhavisati*, Nāsik No. 10. *Saṁghasa cātudisasa ye imasmiṁ leṇe vasaṁtānaṁ bhavisati civarikā*, No. 12, EI, Vol. VIII.

123. *Māhāsaṁghiyānaṁ parigaho saghe cātudise dina*, Kārlā No. 20, El, Vol, VII, p. 71.

124. Utayipabhāha is perhaps Sans. *Uttara Prabhāsa*. Prabhāsa is the name of a place of pilgrimage in western Deccan. (Nāsik, No. 10, El, Vol. VIII) Most of the schools that took their rise in the *Āndrādeśa*, derive their names from places, presumably places where the sects in question took their origin. 'Ayira' or 'aira' (Sans. Ārya) is at Allūru, Amarāvatī, and Nāgarjuni-

are not so known. The latter group was therefore later than the commentary on the *Kathāvatthu.* But the epigraphs which mention them cannot, however, be ascribed to a period later than the second half of the second century A.D. The *Mahācaitya* at Amaravatī was dedicated to the Caitikas. As another but smaller *Stūpa* in the same place was dedicated to the Utayipabhāhis they were perhaps an offshoot of the Caitikas. Rājagiri would also seem to have been a stronghold of the Caitikas. Each sect had its *Mahānavakaṁmas* and *Navakaṁmas,* monks some of whom were *sthaviras, mahāsthavirās* and *bhadantas.*[125]

Monks and nuns

Monks are called *bhikhus, pavajitas, samaṇas,* and *pemḍapātikas.* Nuns are called *samaṇikās, pavajitikās,* and *bhikkhunis.* It is no wonder that the flourishing Buddhist communities in western and eastern Deccan abounded in great teachers. In western Deccan, *mahāsthaviras, sthaviras, bhāṇakas,* and *tevijas* (Sans. *Traividyas*= those who know the *Tripiṭaka*; also adopted by the Buddhists as an epithet of *arhats*)[126] trod the land, enlightening the faithful on the law of the master. In eastern Deccan, monks, nuns and laymen flocked to teachers versed in the *Vinaya* and *Dhaṁma (Dhāṁmakathikas)* and had *bhāṇa* under them. Even nuns were teachers (*upajhiyā-*

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koṇḍa a title prefixed to the *Saṁgha* in general. While in the western cave inscription 'aya', 'ayya' and 'ayira' (*ārya)* is a title prefixed to the names of Buddhist *arhats,* teachers, monks and nuns.

125. *Navakaṁma* is a religious building dedicated by some lay member to the *Saṁgha.* The superintendent of such work is *Navakaṁmika.* The *Cullavagga* VI, 5=*Vinayapiṭakaṁ* supplies us with the following information. "If the buildings were for the Bhikkhus, then a Bhikkhu, if for the Bhikkhunīs then a Bhikkhunī, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments." (ed. Oldenberg, Trans. SBE, Vol XX, pp. 189 *ff n.*). But a Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, epigraph states that a *Cetiyaghara* was errected for the *theris* of Ceylon, in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley, and yet the suprintendents were not *theris,* but three monks, *theras* Caṁdāmukha, Dhaṁmanaṁdi and Nāga. The *Navakaṁmikas* for the Caitya Cave at Kaṇhēri were the *theras, bhadantas,* Acala, Gahala, Vijayaṁta, Bo(dhika), and Dhaṁmapāla. Along with these *Navakaṁmikas* is mentioned as *Uparakhita,* a monk, whose function, however, is not clear. As sometimes *ka* is used for *kha* the *Uparaka* of an Amarāvatī inscription (Vol. XV, No. 33, p. 269) may be identical with *Uparakhita.* Thd Kaṇheri inscription cited above mentions along with *Navakaṁmikas* a *Samāpita*—a layman and the son of a merchant.

126. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Sūttas,* p. 162.

yini), and had scores of female pupils (*atevasini*) under them. Some monks and nuns were persons who had led the life of *gṛhasthas*. Monks and nuns were recruited from the lowest classes also.[127]

The monks spent the rainy season (kept their *vassa*) in the caves scooped out on prominent rocks or in monasteries built by the faithful.[128] The remaining part of the year was spent in religious tours. That is why most of the Buddhist monuments were erected in trade centres like Dhaṁñakaṭaka, Kalyān, Paithān and Ṇāsik, and at Kārlā, and Junnar which are situated in the passes leading from koṅkaṇ to the Ghāṭs. The caves at Kaṇhēri, which is near the sea and the sea-port of Kalyāṇ, and Kudā, Mahāḍ, and Chiplun situated on creeks, show that monks and nuns travelled by sea also.

Monks and nuns lived in caves called *leṇas* (Sans. *layana*) or *vihāras*. *Vihāras* cut out of rock, open with a verandha; inside is a hall surrounded on three sides by rows of cells, each with a stone bench for the monks to sleep on. Structural *vihāras* were also built on the same plan. Attached to the *vihāra* or as parts of it are *bhojanamaṭapa* or *bhojanacatusālā* (refectory), *upathāṇasālā* (hall of reception), *saghārāma*,[129] *pāṇiyapoḍhis*, and *sānapoḍhis*. The *bhojanamaṭapa* at Junnar[130] is an open hall 19 feet wide by 14½ feet deep and 8 feet high, with a bench round the three inner walls; the *upathāṇasālā* at Kārlā is a hall 21 feet wide by 11 feet deep and seven feet high, and is the upper story of a *vihāra* 24 feet wide by 22 feet deep and 7½ feet high, with ten cells four in the back and three on each side, but half of them in an unfinished state. The *vihāra* hall is sometimes called *koḍhi*. *Thānaka* would also seem to be another name for *vihāra*, as the cave in which the inscription containing the former word is incised bears a close resemblance to the small *vihāra* at Bhāja. The Buddhist temples attached to *vihāras* are called *Cetiyagharas* or *Selagharas*, or *Cetiyakoḍhis*. *Cetiyagharas* are of two main types, both *dāgoba* shrines. One is the flat-roofed *vihāra*—like cave with a *dāgoba* shrine at the back and with cells on the sides or in front

127. ASSI, Vol. I, No. 36, p. 91.

128. In Kaṇhēri No. 18, ASWI, Vol. V the *vassa* is said to have been kept in summer.

129. Lüders translates *saghārāma* No. 988 as 'monastery'; but in the inscription (ASWI, Vol. V, No 6, p. 77) it is spoken as part of a *vihāra*, *Ārāma* means 'garden' and *saghārāma* means 'the garden around the monastery'.

130. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 30.

of the hall. The other is vault-roofed, has horse-shoe shaped windows over the entrance and has an interior consisting of a nave and side aisles with a small circular *Stūpa* at the inner circular end, the object or centre of cult. To the former class belong those at Mahāḍ, Kuḍā, and Junnar. In a *Cetiyakoḍhi* at Mahād the *dāgoba* is in half relief. At Kuḍā the abacus of the capital of the *Cetiya* just touches the roof and the cell has a stone bench or bed. At Junnar the *Cetiyaghara* consists of a verandah with a flat roof forming the porch to the cave. Behind the arched nave of a *Cetiya* stands a *dāgoba* of the same style as at Bēḍsā. The next step was to pierce the rock over the verandah with an arched window. The *dāgoba* shrines at Bhājā, Bēḍsā, Kārla, Nāsik, Koṇḍāne, and Kaṇhēri, some of them belonging to a period considerably anterior to the Christian era, are of the latter type. One on the Mānmōḍī hill (Junnar) is of this type. But those at Nāsik, Kondāṇe, Bhājā, and Bēḍsā, have no screen in front, though at Bēḍsā the returns of the rock at each side of the facade of the *Caitya* cave favour the idea that something in the front was intended. Burgess remarks: "Judging from the examples at Bēḍsā Kārlā, and Kaṇherī, it seems as if the great windows in the original wooden structures from which these Caitya caves were copied were always covered by a screen in front, which partially hid them while it protected them from the weather."[131]

Brahmanical Religion

Brahmanism was also in a flourishing condition. Most of the Sātavāhana kings were followers of the Brahmanical religion. The third king of the line performed a number of Vedic sacrifices and named one of his sons Vedisiri.[132] In the *Saptaśatakaṁ* an anthology of erotic verses attributed to Hāla, adoration is paid to Śiva.[133] Later Sātavāhanas were also followers of the Brahmanical religion. Gotamīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi was not the only supporter of the Brahmans. He was not only learned in the traditional lore, but emulated epic heroes like Rāma, Keśava, Arjuna, Bhīmasena, and Purāṇic figures like Nābhāga, Nahuṣa, Janamejaya, Sagara, Yayāti, and Ambarīṣa. Since Gotamī speaks of Kailāsa, were she and her son devotees of Śiva? Another king bears the name Yaña.

131. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 39.

132. The minister to whom the daughter of prince Hakusiri was given would seem to have been a Buddhist, as he bears the name Arahalaya, and as his daughter excavates the only *Caityagṛha* at Nāsik, (Nāsik, No. 19, EI, Vol. VIII).

133. First and last verses.

Uṣavadāta's inscription[134] speaks of Carakas, a special category of ascetics at Ramatīrtha in Sopāraga, Suvarṇamukha, Govardhana and Piṁḍītakāvaḍa. Uṣavadāta's inscriptions however, show that Brahmanism was more flourishing outside Sātavāhana dominions, viz., in Gujarat, Kathiawad, Rajaputana, and Ujjain; all his Brahmanical austerities are located in them.[135]

The Nāṇeghāṭ record begins with adoration to Dharma, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Vāsudeva, Indra, the Sun and the Moon, the guardians of the four quarters of the world viz., Vāsava, Kubera, Varuṇa and Yama. The *Saptaśatakaṁ* mentions wooden images of Indra which were worshipped.[136] Worship of Kṛṣṇa is indicated by the names like Govardhana, Kṛṣṇa, and Gopāla. In the *Saptaśatakaṁ* we find the Kṛṣṇa legends fully developed. Here Kṛṣṇa is called Madhumathana[137] and Dāmōdara. Gōpis and Yaśodā are also mentioned.[138] We also hear of the jealousy of shepherdesses against Rādhā.[139]

Names like Sivapālita, Sivakhadila, Sivadatta, Kumāra etc., point to a worship of Śiva, and Skanda. The *Saptaśatakaṁ* furnishes us interesting data in this direction. In the opening and closing verses Paśupati and Gaurī are adored. Temples of Gourī are mentioned in *gāthā* 172. Śiva is also called Paramatādhipa (Prākṛt. *Paramahahivam*) in *gāthā* 440. *Kāpālinis* or ash covered and skull-bearing women ascetics are also mentioned.[140] Gaṇeśa is mentioned as Gaṇādhipati.[141]

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134. Nāsik No. 12, EI, Vol. VIII.

135. According to the *Mahābhārata*, a forest near Sopāra was in times of yore, the scene of austerities and sacrifices performed by kings. It also contained the holy shrines of Vasu, of the Marutgaṇas, of Aśvini, Vaivasvat, Āditya, Kubera, Indra, Viṣṇu, etc. (*Vanaparvan*, Chapter CXVIII),

136. *Saccam cia kaṭṭhamao*
Suraṇaho, jena haliadhūte |
Hatthehi kamaladalako
Malehi cikko ṇa pallavio ||
Weber, *Das Saptacatakam des Hāla*, p. 470, g. 864.

137. *Op. Cit.*, p. 323, g. 657.

138. *Ajja vi vālo Dāmo-*
aro tti ia jaṁpe jasoae |
Kaṇhamuhapesiaccham
ṇihuaṃ hasiam Vaavahūhim || g. 112.

139. Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 31, g. 89.

140. *Gāthā*, 408.

141. *Gāthās*, 403, 372.

Names like Viṇhupālita, Veṇhu, and Lachinikā point in the same way to the worship of Viṣṇu. In the *Saptaśatakāṁ*, Hari or Trivikrama is said to be superior to other gods. Birth of Lakshmī from the ocean of milk is also mentioned.[142]

In conclusion it may be noted that one of the interesting religious data supplied by *Saptaśatakaṁ* is the *vrata* of fire and water.[143]

142. *Gāthās*, 411 and 388 respectively.

143. *Gāthā*, 185.

CHAPTER VII

THE IKṢVĀKUS—THIRD CENTURY A.D.

The Purāṇic label for the Ikṣvāku kings

The Ikṣvākus of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jaggayyapēṭa records are none other than the Purāṇic Śrīpārvatīyas[1] i.e., the dynasty whose capital or home or kingdom lay in the Śrīparvata region,[2] also called Āndhras[3] of the lineage of the servants (*bhṛtyāḥ*) of the 'Āndhra Sātavāhanas.'[4] This identification which Mr. K. P. Jayaswal[5] was the first to suggest is supported by the following pieces of evidence[6]:—The Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraphs make it clear that during the period under review 'Śrīparvata' signified not any particular hill on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa site or 'Śrīśailam'[7] but the whole range of Nallamalai hills of which the hills surrounding the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa plateau and the 'Śrīśailam' peak are offshoots.[8]

1. a, c Mt. The rest 'Śrīparvatīya' Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 46, n. 30.
2. 'Chākalepakiyasa' 'of an inhabitant of Chakalepa (Nāsik No. 17, EI, Vol. III, p. 90; 'Paḍukulikiya' (Lüders, Nos. 571 and 576) 'of an inhabitant of Paḍukulika.'
3. Bḍ. and Vṣ. 'Āndhrabhṛtya,' Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 5.
4. In the early Mt, Vā, Bḍ. and Vṣ. accounts.
5. JBORS, 1933, Parts I and II, p. 171.
6. These were not worked out by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal.
7. ASR., 1926–27, p. 186 add ASSI, Vol. I, p. 7.
8. In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa ins. *giri* is the word for 'peaks' and 'hillocks' (Cula-Dhammagiri is certainly the hillock now called Nāharaḷḷabōḍu on which the apsidal shrine built by Bodhisiri stands. Ins. F.). So 'Siripavata' of the same inscription cannot refer to a peak or hillock but to a whole range. The later Śrīparvata in the Kurnool District makes it improbable that the hills surrounding the Nagarjunikoṇḍa site monopolised that name.

   Scholars like Burgess and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel take seriously the Tibetan tradition preserved by Tāranātha that Nāgārjuna, the expounder of the Mādhyamika philosophy (second century A.D.), lived at Śrīparvata. Whilst they are agreed in identifying it with Hiuen-Tsang's Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li where a Sātavāhana is said to have quarried a monastery for Nāgārjuna, Burgess identifies them both with 'Śrīśailam' in the Kurnool District, and Dr. J. Ph. Vogel and the Epigraphy Department with Nāharaḷḷabōḍu or Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a lofty hill overlooking the Kṛṣṇā at the northern end of the plateau. The chinese pilgrim places Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li in Dākṣiṇa Kōsala in a place 300 li (50 miles) to the south west of its

No dynasty other than the Ikṣvāku could have ruled over the Kṛṣṇā-Guntur region immediately after the Sātavāhanas. The ornate alphabet, with long verticals, of the Ikṣvāku records shows only slightly developed forms over those of the Chinna Ganjam inscription of Siri-Yaña Satakaṇi and the Jangli Guṇḍu inscription of Puḷumāvi III (probably the last of the Sātavāhanas). That the Ikṣvākus were once '*bhṛtyas*' of the Sātavāhanas is shown by the Sātavāhana metronymics and prefixes to the names which they bear

capital. While speaking of T'o-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhānyakaṭaka where the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa plateau would have lain) he speaks of neither Nāgārjuna nor his monastery. To identify Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li of the Dakṣina-Kosala, which is placed by Hiuen Tsang 1200 *li* to the north of T'o-no-kie-tse-kia, with 'Śriparvata' in the Guntur and Kurnool Districts is to go too wide of the mark. General Cunningham has identified Dakṣina-Kosala with the province of Vidarbhā. modern Berar, and its capital with modern Nagpur AGI, p. 595. This agrees with the Tibetan tradition that Nāgārjuna was a native of Vidarbhā (Wassiljeu, Appendix to Tāranātha, pp. 301, 303). The Tibetan tradition that Nāgārjuna surrounded the *Stūpa* at Dhānyakaṭaka (the Amarāvati *Stūpa*) with a railing is supported by none of the extant Amarāvati rail inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. N. Dutt has pointed out (IHQ. Vol. VII, p. 639) that the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, a work of about the third century A.D., speaks of Dhānyakara as a great city of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a seat of Mañjuśrī, who lived in an extensive forest and converted a large number of Nāgas and inhabitants of the place, but refers neither to Nāgārjuna nor to Śrīparvata.

A Jaggayyapāṭa inscription which, on palaeographical grounds, should be ascribed to the seventh century A.D., mentions Chandraprabha, his teacher Jayaprabha and the latter's teacher Nāgārjuna (Nāgārjunācarya, ASSI, Vol. I, p. 112. Pl. LXIII). The *Sādhanamālā* mentions a *tantric* Nāgārjuna, one of the 84 *Mahāsiddhas*, who came after Sarha. B. Bhattacarya places the former in the seventh century A.D. (*Sādhanamāla*, Vol. II, Intro. xliv-xv, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, XLI). The tradition preserved in the Pag-bsam-ljon-bzan (p. 86) is that, according to the account of the 84 *Mahāsiddhas*, one Nāgarjuna was born at Kahora. a part of Kāñcī, and educated at Nālandā, where he practised the *siddhis* and visualised the goddess Tārā. He came to Śrīparvata, (IHQ, Vol. VII, p. 637). Tāranātha also mentions him (*ibid.*, 638, n. 1). While there is thus evidence, literary and epigraphic, for connecting the second Nāgārjuna with Śrīparvata, there is at present no evidence which allows us to associate the first Nāgārjuna with Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

"The *Matsyā Purāṇa* speaks of a family of *Srī-Parvatīya* Āndhras, which may refer to a petty dynasty either at *Śrī-Śailam* itself or across the river at Chandaguptapaṭṇam in the vicinity." ASSI, Vol. I, p. 7.

According to Prof. Rapson, "they were probably the Cuṭus, who rose to power in the western and southern districts after the reign of Śrī-Yajña" CIC, *Āndhras and Western Kṣatrapas*, Intro. lxix. But the identification suggested here makes Rapson's conjecture wrong.

(e.g., siri and sāmi)[9]; and it will be shown below that they were *Mahātalavaras* under the Sātavāhanas. Names into the composition of which 'Skanda' enters and the 'aṇaka' ending in names also point to Sātavāhana influence.[10] The Ikṣvāku capital Vijayapurī is, in inscription F, stated to have been situated to the west of the Lesser Dhaṁmagiri (Nāharāḷḷaboḍu mound.)[11]

The find of nearly 148 lead coins of the Sātavāhana period at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa [12]—they are now in the Calcutta Museum and are said to be much corroded—indisputably shows that the kingdom of the Ikṣvākus or at least a part of it was included in the Sātavāhana empire. Whilst then, the south-western parts of the Sātavāhana empire fell to the Cuṭus, and the western parts to the Śakas, Ābhīras and Gardabhillas, the eastern parts passed into the hands of the Ikṣvākus.

Duration of the dynasty

According to the Purāṇas, there were seven kings in the dynasty. But epigraphy has disclosed the names of only three. As regards the duration of the dynasty, the Purāṇic account is far from being clear. The *Matsya* which gives us the oldest version has '*dvi pañcāśatam*' which, according to Pargiter, may mean 52 or 100. The *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* accounts, which according to him are corrupted, give '*dve ca śatam.*' However, c *Vāyu* which next to the *Matsya* gives us the oldest version has '*dve arddhaśata*'

9. Ins. L. EI, Vol. XXI.

10. Kaṁdasiri, A2, C3, etc., Khaṁdacaḷikiremmaṇaka, B4.

11. "*Sirīpavate Vijayapurīya puva-disā-bhāge vihāre Cula-Dhaṁmagirīyaṁ cetiya-gharaṁ* . . ,=at Siripavata (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa site with the hills which form parts of the range which went by that name), a *cetiya* on the Cula-Dhaṁmagiri standing to the east of Vijayapurī." In the central part of the valley which is now marked by cultivation and which is certainly to the north-west of the Nāharāllaboḍu, Mr. Longhurst discoverd a palace site (ASR, 1928–29, p. 104). From the elaborate ornamentation and the curious semi-classical objects portrayed on some of the pillars, it would seem that they once supported the roof of some royal palace. The pillar set up in memory or Siri-Cāṁtamūla lay buried in the north-western part of the valley, not far from the river. Moreover, several ruined *maṇḍapas* or pavilions mark the site of the ancient city. Finally, the plateau shut in by hills on which there are remains of fortifications offered an ideal site for a capital. The Vijayapura of the Amarāvati inscription (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 85, No. 30, Pl. LVIII) is perhaps identical with the Vijayapurī of our inscription.

12. ASR; 1928–29 ; p. 103.

which is undoubtedly 52. This conclusion is arrived at in another way. The earliest *Matsya* account which mentions the seven Śrīpārvatīya Āndhras ends with the mention of Kilakila kings; even the Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti is not mentioned in this recension. The synchronism between Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II and Devagupta (Chandragupta II 380–419)[13] would place Vindyaśakti between 260 and 285 A.D.[14] The earliest *Matsya* account was, therefore, closed before 260 A.D.[15] The Sātavāhanas could not have disappeared from the political stage before 205 A.D. The Ikṣvākus, their successors, could, therefore, have ruled for only 52 and not 100 years. We know from inscriptions that Siri-Vīrapurisadata and Ehuvuḷa Cāṁtamūla divided between themselves at least 31 years. A reign of 15 years may be assigned to Siri-Cāṁtamūla, 'the Unobstructed,' who is credited with many sacrifices and *dānas* and who seems to have lived to middle age.[16] The short reigns of the last four kings would be evidence of the troublous times.[17]

Home of the Ikṣvākus

Dr. Sten Konow seeks their home in the western Deccan.[18] The sources of his suggestion are the 'aṇaka' suffix to personal names in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and western cave inscriptions and the possibility of explaining some terms in the former through Kanarese. According to him, 'Khanda' is Kanarese '*Kanda*' meaning 'child.' 'Caliki-remmaṇaka' is probably Kanarese '*Calikiraṇaka*' 'moon.' "'It also strikes me that Kanarese *kaṛṛambu* means 'envy.'" "The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese." We may point out, however, that 'Khanda' is a Prākṛt form of 'Skanda.' 'Karuṁbudhina' is a contraction for 'Karumbudhiṇaka'[19] and '*karum*' in Tamil means 'black' (adj.), and 'aṇaka' is a name ending; and names

13. Allan, *Gupta Dynasties*, pp. xxxiv, ff,

14. Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasena I, Gautamīputra Rudrasena I, Pṛthivīsena I and Rudrasena II, CII, Vol. III, p. 235.

15. Pargiter arrives at the result in another way. *Op. cit.*, Intro. xxv, Sec. 44.

16. *Vide infra*, pp. 132–4.

17. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel says (EI, Vol. XX, p. 6): "Dr. Bühler's assumption, based on palaeographical evidence that Siri-Vīrapurisadata flourished in the third century of our era, may be accepted as probably correct." The identification suggested and the chronology worked out above definitely place the Ikṣvākus in the first half of the third century A.D.

18. EI, Vol. XX, pp. 25–26.

19. Vīraṁṇa in Inscription F. is a contraction for Vīraṁṇaka.

like Ehuvuḷa, Aḍavi-Cāṁtisiri and Damila-Kaṇha betray Tamil influence. Since in an Amarāvatī inscription of the time of Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi, an ordinary person bears a name with 'aṇaka' suffix,[20] the western influences shown by the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions are best considered as the result of Sātavāhana rule over the eastern Deccan and have no significance for the question of Ikṣvāku origins.

According to Bühler and Prof. Rapson[21] the southern Ikṣvākus were Rajputs of northern descent—a dynastic drift of which we have instances like the Mauryas of Konkaṇ, the Guttas of Guttal and the Cōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu. According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,[22] Ikṣvāku, the progenitor of the Solar race, was the eldest among the nine sons of Manu; he ruled from Ayodhyā and had a hundred sons of whom Vikukṣi was the eldest and successor; of the other sons fifty were entrusted with small states in the north and 48 in the south. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Kośala (southern) was founded by Kuśa who ruled from Kośasthali.[23] The foundation of Aśmaka and Muḷaka on the upper Godāvarī is ascribed to princes of Ikṣvāku descent. The Ikṣvāku drift into the Āndradeśa must have taken place very early for them to have merged in the Āndhra tribe, for according to the Purāṇas the Ikṣvākus were Āndhras. A Kanarese work entitled *Dharmāmṛta* affords evidence of an early drift. In the time of the 12th *Tīrthaṅkara* Vasupūjya (third or second century B.C.), Ikṣvāku Yaśodhara of Aṅga carved a kingdom for himself in the Vēṅgī country, to use the later designation of the heart of the *Āndhradeśa*, and founded the town of Pratipālapura identified by Mr. M. S. Sarma with Bhaṭṭiprōlu.[24]

20. *Vide supra*, p. 66; Lüders' *List* No. 1248.

21. IA, Vol. XI, pp. 256 ff; CIC, *Āndhras and Western Kṣatrapas*; xliv.

22. Chap. 88, 8 ff.

23. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Hall's edition, ii, 172, n.

24. In a paper on *Jainism in South India* read before the Archaeological Society of South India.

Scholars like Burgess (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 111) and Caldwell (*Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 115) look upon the Ikṣvāku descent claimed by the southern princes as an idle boast. Writes Caldwell: "The Aryan immigrants to the south appear to have been generally Brahmanical priests and instructors rather than Kshatriya soldiers; and the kings of the Pāṇḍyas, Choḷas, Kaliṅgas and other Dravidians appear to have been simply Dravidian chieftains whom their Brahmanical preceptors and spiritual directors . . . . . . taught to imitate and emulate the grandeur and cultivated tastes of the Solar, Lunar and Agnikula races of kings." What-however, invests the claim of Ikṣvākus with authenticity is that while

Rise of the Ikṣvākus

The Allūru Brāhmī inscription (Allūru is a village in the Nandigāma taluq of the Kṛṣṇā District) discoverd a decade ago throws welcome light on the rise of the Ikṣvākus to power.[25] The *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions from Jaggayyapēṭa[26] prove beyond doubt that the Nandigāma taluq or part of it was included in the Ikṣvāku kingdom. The Allūru inscription which, on palaeographical grounds, is slightly earlier than the Amarāvatī inscription of Vāsiṭhiputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi, mentions a *Mahātalavara* and a king.[27] As the title

the Gaṅgas (EC, Vol. VII, Sh. Nos. 4 and 64) and the Cōḷas (EI, Vol. XVIII; p. 26 and *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*) trace their descent from Ikṣvāku, they did not assume Ikṣvāku as their dynastic name.

25. ARE, 1923–24.

26. ASSI, Vol. I, pp. 110–11. Pls. LXII and LXIII.

27. The epigraph does not give us either the name of the king or that of the *Mahātalavara*. In the *Calcutta Review* for July 1925 Dr. Shamasastry edited this inscription. According to him. ll. 16–17 refer to Sana king of the Ayis; ll. 16–17 of the inscription however read;

"*kahapanana(ṁ) ca pura(ne)ka sahasaṁ akhayanī(vī) esa Mahātalavarasa deya-dhama paricako ata utarāpase bāpana-nivatanānī eta sābhāriyasa sa-putakasa sānatukasa ayirana(ṁ) Puvaseliyāna nigāyasa* . . . . ."

The third letter in *sanātukasa* read as *sa* is clearly *tu*; a mention of the grandsons of the *Mahātalavara* (and not of the name of a king), after the mention of the wife and sons, is what is to be expected.

In the ARE, 1923-24, it was stated that "palaeographically it (the inscription) may be assigned to about the second century A.D. Most of the characters resemble those of the inscription of Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi, while others are like those of Sātakaṇi I and Uṣavadata." The Chinna Ganjam inscription of the time of Siri-Yaña written in the ornate alphabet of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa epigraphs, is admittedly later than the Allūru inscriptions. A comparison with the Amarāvatī inscriptions would have served the purpose far better; the early square characters of the Allūru type are to be found in some of the Amarāvatī inscriptions which, belonging as they do to the various periods between the second century B.C. and third century A.D., (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa alphabet is to be found in Nos. 36 and 42, ASSI, Vol. I, pp. 91 and 104, Pls. LVIII, LIX; and EI, Vol. XV, Nos. 27 and 54), enable us to trace clearly the evolution of the Brāhmī alphabet in the Kṛṣṇā valley. The Allūru characters resemble clearly those of No. 16 (ASSI, Vol. I, page 63 and Pl. XLIV, *ta, ya, sa, ja, ma, ha, a, ka, da* and *lo*). True, the Allūru *na, ta, a, da* and *ka* somewhat resemble those in the inscription of the time of Puḷumāvi II, but the *i* and *u* signs in the former inscription as in Nos. 16 and 18, and the rounded form of *pa* are certainly earlier than those of Puḷumāvi's time. It might be argued that No, 16 is on a coping stone and must, therefore, belong to the reign of Vāsiṭhiputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi when the railing was enlarged and new *stūpa* slabs set up. No. 52

and office of *Mahātalavara* combined with those of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was a feature of the Ikṣvāku period, and as the Ikṣvākus like the *Mahārathis* were matrimonially connected with the Sātavāhanas, they were, like the *Māharathis*, feudatories under them. The feudatory title often met with in the *Āndhradeśa* is *Mahātalāvara.* We would be justified in concluding that the ancestors of the Ikṣvakus were *Mahātalavaras* under the Sātavāhanas. After their fall Siri-Cāṁtamūla[28] founded his dynasty much in the same way as the *Mahārathi* Cuṭus in the south-western parts and the Ābhīras in the western parts,

The founder of the line—Siri-Cāṁtamūla 'The Unobstructed'[29]

Whilst Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Cāṁtamūla is extolled by his sisters, his father is not even mentioned in their inscriptions.[30] Cāṁta-

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is on a coping stone of the outer railing, but in early square characters. An inscription of the reign of Sivamaka Sada(kaṇī) which is palaeographically later than that of Vāsiṭhiputa sāmi Siri-Puḷumāvi, is also on an outer rail coping stone. It would, therefore, seem that alterations in or additions to the railings of the Stūpa (*Mahācetiya*)] were made from time to time.

28. *Caṁtamūla* in A2, A3, A4, C1, C2, C3, D4, and X; *Cala* is clear in E, G, and H.

Caṁta is clear in C4, G2, G3, L, M, etc. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel thinks that probably *Cāṁta* is the correct form. The dictum of Senart that when tee *anusvāra* is found in some cases and absent in others, it is certain that the scribe or engraver omitted it by mistake makes it certain that *Cāṁtamūla* is the correct form.

Prākṛt *Cāṁtamūla* has been Sanskritized by D. C. Sircar and K. P. Jayaswal as *Śāntamūla* and by Dr. Vogel as *Kṣāntamūla*. *Cula* which in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is opposed to *Mahā* is certainly Sanskrit *Kṣudra*—small. On this analogy *Cāṁta* would be *Kṣānta* only. In the inscription under reference *śa* becomes *sa* and not *ca*. (See Childers *Pali-Eng. Dic.*, *cullo*).

29. *Apaṭihatasaṁkapa.*

30. On the other hand he is mentioned by his daughter Aḍavi-Cāṁtisiri.

Among Ikṣvākus there is a preference for names beginning with *cāṁta*. A sister of Siri-Cāṁtamūla is called Cāṁtisiri. His grandson is called Ehuvuḷa Siri-Cāṁtamūla.

Cula-Cāṁtisiri of the Kulahaka family would seem to have been a descendant of an Ikṣvāku princess married into the Kulahaka family; as the office of the *Mahātalavara* wouid seem to have been hereditary in the Kulahaka family as in the Dhanaka and Pūkiya families, as Cula Cāṁtisirinikā is herself married to a *Mahātalavara* and as the Ikṣvākus are matrimonially connectd with ihe *Mahātalavaras* such a conjecture has strong support.

mūla would therefore seem to have been the founder of the line.[31] That he possessed sovereign powers is indicated by the title '*Mahārāja*'[32] attached to his name, and fittingly enough his sisters, mother and consorts erected a pillar and perhaps a *stūpa* also in his honour.[33] But we have no lithic record of his reign. All that we know about him is furnished by the memorial pillar and by the inscriptions of the reigns of his son and grandson.

His reign

In a passage which occurs in most of the inscriptions, Siri-Cāṁtamūla is credited with the performance of *Agniṣṭoma, Agnihotra, Aśvamedha,* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices. Whilst *Jyotir-Agniṣṭoma* is the simplest of *Soma* liturgies and *Agnihotra* a modest *Havir-Yajñā*, *Vājapeyā* was a complex rite at the end of which the performer sat upon the throne and was hailed 'Samrāṭ'—'emperor'. The fact that only three south Indian princes of the early period are said to have performed it (Siri-Sātakaṇi I, Pallava Siva-Skandavarman and Siri-Cāṁtamula) shows how powerful Siri-Cāṁtamūla must have been. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[34] and Kātyāyana's *Śrauta-Sūtra*[35] it is said that by offering *Rājasūya* one becomes a

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31. The Memorial Pillar Inscriptions (EI, Vol. XXI, L.) shows that Siri-Cāṁtamūla's father indulged in a plurality of wives (*mātahi*) unless indeed it be that the term is an honorific plural employed by the daughters of his only wife. But even a plurality of wives does not indicate the father's kingly position, for even nobles and high dignitaries of state would have followed the example set up by kings, as their metronymics would show,

32. Cāṁtamūla is referred to as *Rājan* in the memorial Pillar Inscription. K. P. Jayaswal's contention that the title of *Mahārāja* applied to Siri-Cāṁtamūla indicates his feudatory position whilst the title of *Rājan* applied to Siri-Vīrapurisadata shows that the royal position was assumed by the latter cannot therefore be upheld. *In the Ikṣvāku records the* titles *Rājan and Mahārāja* are indifferently used. Siri-Vīrapurisadata bears the title of *Rājan* in most of the inscriptions and *Mahārāja* in inscriptions G and H. (EI, Vol. XX). Ehuvuḷa Siri-Cāṁtamūla is styled *Mahārāja* in G and *Rājan* in G2 and G3.

33. Though the inscription records the setting up of the pillar only, the dome with the railing, having *cetiya*-arches over the gates, in the first panel might be a representation of a *stūpa* erected in his honour. However *Stūpa* No. 9 near which the pillar lay buried, contained only the bones of an ox, deer and hare along with a broken doll's head made of red pottery. ASR, 1929–30, p. 149.

34. V, 1.1.13.

35. XV, 1.1.2.

Rājan. and by offering the *Vājapeya* a *Samrāt*. According to them the office of '*Rājan*' is the lower and that of '*Samrāṭ*' the higher. The passage in the inscription also credits Siri-Cāṁtamūla with gifts of lumps of gold, ploughs of land[36] and cows and oxen. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel looks upon the passage as conventional.[37] But in the fifth panel of the memorial pillar Siri-Cāṁtamūla is represented as standing in plain attire, bareheaded, wearing sandals and holding a staff in his hands. But for the parasol over his head he would look an ordinary person. By his side is an attendant holding a vessel containing libation water. Before him are five Brahmans;[38] one of them who is very young is stretching his right hand to receive a gift from the king. On the ground is seen a heap of round pieces of uncoined metal.[39], Here is undoubtedly a representation of the gift of crores of '*hiraṁṇa*' (*hiraṁṇapiṇḍas* or uncoined gold pieces of a definite weight) with which Siri-Cāṁtamūla is credited.[40]

His personality, sisters and queens

Of the representation of the Sātavāhanas or kings of their *bhṛtya* lines on stone, we have only two clear instances. One is that of king Simuka, his son Siri-Sātakaṇi I and the latter's family, the other is that of Siri-Cāṁtamūla on the memorial pillar. In all the four panels he is represented as a corpulent person. In the second and third panels he wears a low cap. The fourth panel shows him riding the state elephant fully caparisoned, with the attendant seated behind him holding a parasol over his head. He is followed by five or six marching attendants, one of whom is a dwarf.

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36. '*go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa padāyisa.*' Regarding the various kinds of measure of land called 'plough' see Kullūka on Manu VII, 119.

37. EI, Vol. XX, p. 6.

38. Dr. Vogel calls them monks, (EI, Vol. XXI, p. 63). According to Mr. Hirananda Sastri they are royal ladies and officials; the young person is prince Virapurisadata. ASR, 1929–30, pp. 165, 166.

39. Unlike coins they are thick globules.

40. D. C. Sircar would see in the compound '*aneka-hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa*, a reference to some of the *mahādānas*. Probably the gift of cows or oxen and gold pieces was made on the occasion of sacrifices. It is noteworthy that in the last panel Siri-Cāṁtamūla with his hair cut and carrying a staff is like a performer of *Agniṣṭoma*. What appears to be thrown over his shoulders is perhaps the skin of an antelope. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 162.

Unlike his father and son who indulged in many wives, Siri-Cāṁtamūla had only two queens. In the panels he is represented as sitting with two queens. In the inscription where his '*mahādevis*' are mentioned we have '*subhatarikāhi ca Sarasikāya, Kusumalatāya.*" '*Subhataraikāhi*' is a mistake for '*Subhaṭarikāhi*' (Sans. *Svabhaṭṭārikābhiḥ*)—'by his own ladies' or wives. Thus in the inscription also only two queens are mentioned.

Haṃmasirinikā and Cāṁtisiri are the sisters of Siri-Cāṁtamūla. The former would seem to have died before the twentieth year of Siri-Vīrapurisadata and the latter between his eighteenth and twentieth regnal years. Unlike Siri-Cāṁtamūla, a staunch follower of the Brahmanical religion, the two sisters were ardent Buddhists (lay disciples), and it is to the latter's munificence that we owe some of the most important monuments in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa plateau,[41]

Conclusion

Since the portrait representation of Cāṁtamūla shows us a middle-aged person, he would seem to have died at middle age; this is made very probable by the fact that his mother and step-mothers (*mātāhi*) lived up to the twentieth year of his son's reign. No Buddhist monument in the valley can be definitely attributed to his reign. He was, like some of the Western Cāḷukya kings, a *protègè* of Mahāsena, 'the Virūpakhapati' ('lord of Virūpākṣa hosts').[42] Until fresh evidence turns up, his attitude towards Buddhism and the Buddhist activities of the royal ladies must remain unknown. Since daughter, sister, grand-daughter and daughter-in-law are all anxious to state their relationship to him, Siri-Cāṁtamūla was evidently looked upon as the most famous in the line.[43]

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41. Cāṁtisiri who was born of a Vāsiṭhi, was married to a *Mahāsenāpati, Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhiputa Khaṁdasiri of the Pūkiya clan. Such an endogamous marriage seems peculiar. As the *Mahātalavaras* borrowed metronymics from their kings it is no wonder they did not look upon the former as an institution for regulating marriages.

42. EI. vol. XX, p. 6.

"From the expression *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa*, which is applied to Chāṁtamūla, it may perhaps be concluded that he was a votary of the god Mahāsēna or Skanda, 'the lord of the Virūpakhas'. The term Virūpakha (=Skt. *Virūpāksha*) seems to be used here to indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the lord and leader."

"The word *Virūpakha* (Skt. *Virūpāksha*) indicating a class of snakes, occurs in an ancient snake-charm. *Vinaya Piṭakam* ...." *ibid.*

43. B2, C3, E, C2, H and G. EI, vol. XX.

Vīrapurisadata[44]

Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata was not as great as his father Siri-Cāṁtamūla. Even so his reign marks a glorious epoch in the history of Buddhism in the Kṛṣṇā valley. Probably one or two matrimonial alliances of far-reaching importance were contracted during his reign.

Alliance with the powerful house of Caṣṭana

Like their masters the Sātavāhanas, the Ikṣvākus also contracted matrimonial alliance with the Śaka dynasty of Ujjain. An *āyaka* pillar epigraph dated in the sixth year of Siri-Vīrapurisadata records the donation of a pillar and 170 *dināri-māsakas*[45] by 'Mahādevi Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā, an '*Ujenika Mahārājabālikā*.' Now that we know the names of the two queens of Siri-Cāṁtamūla it is

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44. Bühler, (IA, vol. XI, p. 257) and following him Burgess (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 111) take both 'siri' and 'vīra' as honorific prefixes. Bühler's argument is that a name like 'Vīrapurisadata' would compel us to assume the existence of a deity called 'Vīrapuruṣa' which hitherto is not known. (*datta*=given by, *Puruṣa*=Viṣṇu). Names like Vīraṁnikā and Vīraṁna (inscription F.) make 'vīra' part of a personal name. When two or more honorific prefixes adorn a name, they always precede '*siri*': i.e., what immediately follows 'siri' is the personal name, e.g., Siva Siri-Āpīlaka, Siva Siri-Sātakaṇi. Lüders, *op. cit.*, No 1127.

45. D. C. Sircar would attribute the presence of *dināri-māsakas* to Śaka matrimonial alliance. Dr. Vogel would attribute it to the vast seaborne trade between the Kṛṣṇā-Godāvarī region and the West through the emporiums of Kantakossyla, Palūra, Koddūra, etc. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel's theory is supported by the following facts:—The find of Roman coins of the period from 68–217 A.D. (JRAS, 1904, pp. 599 ff.), at Vinukoṇḍa in the Guntur district and in the Nellore and Cuddapah districts; the mention of a '*vadālābhikaro(ra) yonaka divikayo*' (a Greek lamp resembling the '*vadāla*' fish in shape) in the Allūru inscription (A lamp of the fish shape has been found at P'ong Tuk. It might have gone there direct from Europe or Asia-Minor or the eastern coast of South India, ABIA, 1927, Pl. 8); and the Graeco-Roman influences discernible in the Amarāvati sculptures of the middle of the second century A.D. As Gotamīputa Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi and Vāsiṭhīputa Siri-Sātakaṇi struck silver in imitation of Kṣatrapa coinage with the Head of the King (the Kṣatrapas derived the obverse of their coins, i e., Head of King from the *denarii* brought into India by way of commerce, Rapson, *op. cit.*, cviii and cix), it is not improbable that the *denarius* was introduced in the wake of Sātavāhana conquest of the eastern Deccan. The relic casket from *Stūpa* No. 6, has yielded two coin-like medallions of thin gold 5/8 inch in diameter, each embossed with a head which makes the impression of being meant for a portrait (ASR, 1929–30, Pl. 37).

not possible to consider her as his queen; she would therefore appear to have been a queen of Vīrapurisadata.[46] As she is said to have donated money for the building of the *Mahācetiya* while the work was going on, the matrimonial alliance must have been contracted before the sixth year of Siri-Vīrapurisadata's regin,[47] possibly even during the reign of his father. As Ozēne is mentioned by Ptolemy as the capital of Tiastanes[48] (Caṣṭana) and as 'Rudra' often enters into the personal names of Western Kṣatrapas of the Caṣṭana line who style themselves *Rājan*,[49] Dr. Vogel's conjecture that Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārika belonged to the house of Caṣṭana is very sound.[50] As Siri-Vīrapurisadata's reign would fall in the second and third decades of the third century A.D. she might have been a daughter of any one of the following Western Kṣatrapas:—Rudrasena I (Ś. 122–44), Rudrasiṁha I (son of Rudradāman), Pṛthivisena (son of Rudrasena I), .Saṅghadāman end Dāmasena (Ś. 144–58), sons of Rudrasiṁha I. The alliance would have gained Kṣatrapa recognition for the new dynasty.[51].

Other queens

Other queens of Siri-Vīrapurisadata were Chaṭhisiri and Bapisirinikā, daughters of Haṁmasiri, and Bhaṭṭidevā,[52] the daughter of Cāṃtisirinika.[52a] The marriage between the king and Bhaṭṭidevā would have taken place between the sixth and fifteenth

46. Unlike the other queens of Vīrapurisadata, Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā does not state her relationship to him.

47. The year in which the *Mahācetiya* was consecrated.

48. McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, Book VII, Chap. I, sec. 63.

49. Rudrasena III is styled *Mahārā'a* on some coins of Mahakṣatrapa Siṁhasena. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

50. Dr. Vogel reads '*Ujanika Mahārabālikā*' but the *e* sign over *ja* is partially visible (the Prākṛt form of Ujjain is Ujeni or Ujjeni). The learned doctor's correction of '*Mahārabālikā*' into '*Mahārajabālikā*' is certainly warranted by the sense of the passage and the numerous mistakes of the scribe or the engraver to be found in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.

51. This alliance accounts for the sculpture of a Śaka warrior on one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa pillars (ABIA, 1927, Pl. VI), and for the donations by a Śaka girl (EI, vol. XX, p. 37).

52. *ā* is clear in *G*3. EI, vol. XXI, Pl.

52a. Bhaṭṭidevā does not however expressly call herself a daughter of Cāṁtisirinikā. It can only be inferred from the facts that both of them were Vāsithis, and that Cāṁtisiri calls Siri-Vīrapurisadata, 'her own son-in-law' (*apāno jāmātuka)* in some inscriptions (E, M1, etc.).

years[53] of his reign. As Bhaṭṭidevā's son ascended the throne not long after the twentieth year of Siri-Vīrapurisadata's reign, the marriage must have taken place soon after the sixth year.[54]

Alliance with the Cuṭus

Another power of importance in south-western India of the third century A.D. was the Cuṭu whose kingdom extended as far north as Kaṇhēri and as far east as Anantapur. The political sense of the Ikṣvākus that dictated an alliance with the Western Kṣatrapas also dictated an alliance with the Cuṭus. An inscription dated in the eleventh year of Ehuvuḷa Siri-Cāṁtamūla records the benefactions of *Mahādevi* Kodabalisiri,[55] daughter of Siri-Vīrapurisadata, half sister *(bhaginī*, not *sodarā bhaginī)* of the king and wife of a *Vanavāsaka-Mahārāja.*[56] Scholars are agreed that Banavāsi

53. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel is of opinion that the marriage took place between the 6th and 18th year. But inscriptions M1 to M5 (EI, Vol. XXI) dated in the 15th year mention Siri-Vīrapurisadata as the son-in-law of Cāṁtisiri; the latter calls herself his aunt (*pituca*) in an inscription of the sixth year of his reign.

54. This significance of the Ikṣvāku system of marriages has been discussed along with metronymics (*vide supra*).

55. Ins. H, EI, Vol. XX.

56. Both forms Vanavāsa or Vanavāsi occur in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions (H and F). Vanavāsakas or Vanavāsins are mentioned in the *Māhābhārata* (6,366) as a people dwelling in South India. The *Mahāvaṁsa* mentions the conversion of Vanavāsi by Rakkhita (Chap. XII, p. 84, evidently the kingdom).

The *ka* suffix indicates the place to which the king belonged, *i.e.*, his capital or his kingdom e.g. Kaṇṭakasolaka=' inhabitant of Kaṇṭakasola' (ASSI, Vol. I, p, 106); and Nāsikaka=' inhabitant of Nāsik,' (EI, Vol. VIII; Nos. 20 and 22). The compound '*Ujanika-Mahāra(jā)balikā*' makes it more probable that the capital is referred to here. We may also note the forms '*Vaiṅgeyaka Hastivarma*' and '*Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa*' which occur in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (CII, Vol. III, p. 3 t. l. 4). Dr. Vogel places modern Banavāsi, which represents the remains of the old town, in the Shimoga Dt. of the Mysore State (EI, Vol. XX, p. 8). It is, however, in the Sirsi taluq of the North Kanara Dt. (Bombay Presidency) (Survey map 48 F/14; Imperial Gazeteer of India, New Series, Vol. VI). Dr. Bühler has quoted St. Petersburg Dictionary to the effect that Vaijayantī occurs both in Brahmanical and Jain books as the name of a town in the coast of the Konkan, and has suggested that it is the seaport Byzantion of the Greeks. (CTI, p. 28, n.). The identity of Vaijayantī with Banavāsi is however established by the following points: Jayantī as the name of Banavāsi occurs in many records notably in an inscription at Banavāsi itself at the temple of *Madhukeśvara* which records that the stone cot of *Madhukeśvara* was

Vanavāsi, or Vanavāsa is another name for Vaijayantī (Prākṛt, Vejayanti).[57] The Maḷavaḷḷi pillar inscription of a Cuṭu Sātakaṇi mentions Vaijayantī as his capital. Since Kaṇhēri, which, as late as the reign of Siri-Yaña, was in the Sātavāhana empire, came into the possession of the Cuṭus,[58] and since neither the Banavāsi nor the Maḷavaḷḷi inscriptions[59] can be ascribed to a period later than the third century A.D., it is certain that the Cuṭus rose to power in the third century on the ruins of Sātavāhana power. The Cuṭus bear the title of '*Mahārāja*.'[60]

The Buddhist monuments of his reign

The central royal Buddhist figure in the reign is Cāṁtisiri. To this donatrix, the '*mahādānapatinī*', the '*velāmika dāna paṭibhāga vochiṁna dhāra padāyinī*'[61] goes the credit of having given an impetus to the beautification of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley,[62] which bids fair to prove of more interest than Amarāvatī. She would even seem to have been responsible for the Buddhist leanings of Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā, Chaṭhisiri Cula-Cāṁtisirinikā and Bapisiriṇikā.[63] The most important foundation of Cāṁtisiri was the '*Mahācetiya*' enshrining the '*dhātu*' of the Great Teacher,[64] consecrated in the

presented at ihe town of Jayanti (IA, Vol. IV, p. 207, No. 8), and this god who was the family deity of the Kadambas of Hanagal is always called in their records Madhukeśvara of Jayanthi.

Senart remarks (EI, Vol. VII, p. 49): "In addition to the instances quoted by Dr. Burgess, where Jayanti seems to represent Banavāsi, one might perhaps ask if in the Banavāsi inscription the letter which has been read *sa* or *saṁ* before *jayaṁtakasa* (1, 2) might not be a *ve*, in which case the sculptor Damōraka would be designated as a native of Vaijayanti." The letter is clearly *sa* and nothing else.

57. EC, Vol. VII, p. 251. No. 263 t. l. 1.
58. Lüders' *List*, No. 1021.
59. IA, Vol. XIV, Pl. EC, Vol. VII, pl.
60. IA, Vol. XIV, p. 331; ASWI, Vol. V, p. 86,
61. C3, EI, Vol. XX, p. 16, t. ll. 8 and 9.
62. The reason for her choice of this site must have been its vicinity to the capital.
63. They want to attain Nirvāṇa. B4, B5, C2 and C4.
64. Whilst Dr. Vogel thinks that Cāṁtisiri built the *Mahācetiya*, Mr. Hiranand Sastri maintains (ASR, 1928-29) that she only rebuilt or enlarged an older *stūpa*. The latter view rests upon the following arguments, some of them not expressly stated:—The Amarāvatī, Ghaṇṭaśālā and Jaggayyapeṭa *Stūpas*, which on epigraphical evidence belong to a period much earlier than the second century A.D., were enlarged, and *āyaka* platforms were added to them during the second century A.D. If the *Stūpa* was built by Cāṁtisiri, the inscriptions would have told us how the relics of

sixth year of Siri-Vīrapurisadata. The *Stūpa* which is fifty feet in diameter, is in the shape of a wheel, with spokes, hub, tyre and all complete.[65] Cāṁtisiri was aided in the undertaking by other Bud-

the Teacher which the *Stūpa* is said to enshrine were obtained; whilst the terms '*patithapita*' and '*ṭhāpitā*' are used, with reference to the erection of '*āyaka-khaṁbhas*,' '*cetiyagharas* and '*sela-maṇḍavas*,' '*samuthāpiya*' and '*niṭhāpitā*' are used with reference to the *Mahācetiya* (B5 and C1). Dr. Vogel cites the authority of the *Mahāvaṁsa* (EI, Vol. XX, p. 30) to show that '*nithāpiṭa*' means completed. In inscription C1, the *Mahācetiya* is called '*navakaṁmam*'; the '*navakaṁmika*' is said to have been the Reverend Ananda, who knew the *Majjhima* and *Digha Nikāyas* by heart. According to the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (SBE, XX, pp. 189 ff) a '*navakaṁmam*' is 'a religious edifice' erected by a lay member (*upāsikā* or *upāsaka*) for the *Saṁgha.*

Whilst the fact that the outer drum and the interior of the *Mahācetiya* are built of bricks of the same size negatives the theory of enlargement, the fact that it is built of bricks of the same size as those used for the apsidal temples built during the Ikṣvāku period (20″x10″x3″) and other Buddhist monuments in the valley, and the fact that the relic caskets in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *Stūpas* are all nearly alike, prove Dr. Vogel's theory. If the *Mahācetiya* is older than the Ikṣvāku period, we would have found older epigraphs and sculptures of which no traces remain; no doubt if the pot containing the silver relic casket found in one of the northern chambers of the *Stūpa* had been intact, it might have given us an inscription and proved beyond doubt the age of the *Stūpa.* (The relic consists of a fragment of bone of the size of a pea found inside a tiny round gold box ⅜″ in diameter. This with a few gold flowers, pearls and garnets was placed in the silver casket shaped like a *stūpa.* The latter was, however, found corroded and broken to pieces).

Vogel translates "*namo Bhagavato........ saṁma sambudhasa dhātuvara parigahitasa Mahācetiye*" into "adoration to the Blessed one the supreme Buddha absorbed by the best of elements at the *Mahācetiya.................*" Dr. Hirananda Sastri links *dhātuvaraparigahita* with *Mahācetiye* and thinks that the *Mahācetiya* was protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha. I am wholly unable to accept this as we cannot link the genitive *parigahitasa* with the locative *Mahācetiye* (EI, Vol. XX, p. 29 note 1). The interpretation proposed by Vogel on the authority of M. L. de la Vallē Poussin for the difficult phrase *dhātuvaraparigahita* is quite acceptable. *Mahācetiye* commences a fresh sentence and must be linked up with *āyakakhabho thāpitā.*

While *stūpas* of less importance at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (*Stūpa* No. 6 and *Stūpa* No. 9 especially) were decorated with carved marble slabs and coping stones, the *Mahācetiya* would seem to have been executed in simple style like the *stūpas* of Ceylon. As will be shown below, there was active communication between Ceylon and the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley.

The remains of the *Mahācetiya* are the drum fifty feet in diameter and twenty feet high at the centre, the *āyaka* platforms, *āyaka-khaṁbhas*, some of them in fragments, the foundations of the enclosure wall and the gateways.

65. According to Mr. Longhurst, all the *Āndhradeśa stūpas* are built in this

dhist and non-Buddhist royal ladies and private individuals.[66] *Mahādevī* Rudradhara-Bhaṭṭārikā donated money and an *āyaka* pillar.[67] Aḍavi-Cāṁtisiri, Chaṭhisiri, Bapisiriṇikā and Cula-Cāṁti-sirinikā of the Kulahaka family, each contributed an '*āyaka-khaṁbha*.' A slab and a coping stone were donated by a Chadakapavatica and his wife Padumavānī together with their sons and daughters. However, nine *āyaka*-pillars or more were set up by Cāṁtisiri.

The practice of erecting *vihāras* and *cetiyagharas* or apsidal temples[68] by the side of *stūpas* was followed in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley also. Close to the *Mahācetiya* on the eastern side is an apsidal temple,[69] an inscription incised on the marble floor of the shrine in two lines records its foundation by Cāṁtisiri in the eighteenth year of Vīrapurisadata's reign 'for the sake of his victory and longevity of life.'[70] To the east of the apsidal temple are fragments of thirty-six pillars, some of them just rising out of the ground, pillars which must have supported the roof of a *maṇḍapa*. Frag-

style (IA, Vol. 61, p. 188). But the Jaggayyapēṭa *Stūpa* was formed of earth in layers about two feet thick over each of which was laid a close flooring of very large bricks closely fitted together (ASSI, Vol. I, p. 108).

66. EI, Vol. XX, p. 25, Inscriptions I and J.

67. The meaning of '*āyaka*' is not settled. Some would connect it with '*ayako*' '*ayaka*' (*āryaka*) meaning 'venerable or worshipful'. In our epigraphs we have '*āyaka*' not '*ayaka*'; '*āyaka*' is used as a noun; and the fact that *āyaka* pillars bear inscriptions (EI, Vol. XX, H; Vol. XXI, G2, G3) little favours the theory that they were objects of worship. *Āyaka* is rendered by Lüders and Burgess as 'entrance'. Dr. Vogel objects to this rendering on the ground that in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Amarāvatī inscriptions, the word for entrance or gate is '*dāra*' (F. EI; Vol. XX; ASSI, Vol. I, No. 44). An inscription on a coping-stone (ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. XLVIII; fig. 4) of a *Cetiya* platform has '*utarāyake paṭo dāna*' (*ibid*, p. 93). Another inscription (No. 47, p. 86) on an āyaka-pillar (Pl. XLV, No. 1), records the gift of a '*Cetiya khabha*' (*āyaka pillar*) at the '*dakhiṇāyaka*' (*dakhiṇāyake* not *dakhiṇāyaka* as Burgess has read it). But in No. 15 Pl. lvi we have '*utarāyake unisa dānam*.' Since the inscription is on an outer rail coping, '*āyaka*' here means 'gateway.' Pali '*ayo*' means 'entrance'. Thus in the Amarāvati inscription '*āyakā*' is used to denote 'something at the entrance,' as well as projections facing entrances. It would, therefore, seem that the projections received that name from the fact that they faced entrances or 'gateways.'

68. '*Cetiya-ghara*'. It seems that '*ghara*' was restricted to halls used for worship, e. g., '*sela-ghara*' Kārlā No. 1, (EI, Vol. VII); *Cetiya-ghara* Kuḍā Nos. 15 and 23 (CTI), Nāsik Nos. 18 and 19 (EI, Vol. VIII).

69. Plate VI, Nos. 2 and 3.

70. *apano jām(ā)tukasa raño M(ā)ṭhariputasa-Ikh(ā)kunam Siri-Vīrāpurisadatasa āyu-vadhanike vejayike*, (EI, Vol. XX, E.).

ments of inscriptions on those pillars put together, record the foundation of a pillared-hall surrounded by a cloister (*cātusāla-parigahitaṁ*)[71] and its consecration in the eighth fortnight of the rainy season of the fifteenth year of the reign.

A private donatrix who emulated Cāṁtisiri was the lay disciple Bodhisiri, daughter of the householder Revata and Budhaṁnikā, belonging to Govagāma[72] and niece of the treasurer (*Koṭhāgārika*) Bhada (Sanskrit Bhadra). The foundations attributed to her are two '*Cetiya-gharas*'—(one on the Lesser Dhaṁmagiri by the side of a *vihāra*[73] as the special property of the *theris* (nuns) of Ceylon,[74] and another at *Kulaha-vihāra*,[75] a shrine for the Bodhi-tree (i.e.,

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71. EI, Vol. XXI, p. 65. But no traces of the quadrangular building remain.

72. As Bodhisiri dedicates her apsidal-temple to the *theris* of Ceylon, she was probably a native of Ceylon. N. Dutt identifies Govagama with Goṇagāmaka, mentioned as a port in Ceylon in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (IHQ. Vol. VII, p. 653, n. 2).

73. The *vihāra* referred to still stands on the Nahārāḷḷabōḍu mound.

74. Dr. Vogel's translation of (*bha*)*daṁtā* (*rā*)*jācarīyānaṁ Kasmira-Gaṁdhāra-Cīna-Cilāta-Tosali-Avaraṁta-Vaṁga-Vanavāsi-Yavana-Dā*(*mila*) (*Pa*)*lura-Tambapaṁni-dipa pas* (*ā*) *dakānam theriyānam Taṁbapa* (*ṁ*) *ṇakānam-suparigahe*..................................*Cetiyagharaṁ kāritam*' (F, t. l. 1) as "Caitya-shrine erected for the acceptance of the fraternities of Ceylon who have converted Kasmira etc.," is not satisfactory. Not even the *Mahāvaṁsa* does credit Ceylonese monks with the conversion of various countries. Keeping in mind the analogy of the Kārlā and Nāsik Inscription (Kārlā Nos. 19 and 20, Nāsik Nos. 2, 3 and 4; also EI, Vol. I. p. 240), we might translate thus;—"*Caitya* shrine erected for the venerable teachers who converted Kasmira etc.,........................for the special acceptance of (as the special property) of the *theris* of Ceylon." This agrees with the account of the Ceylonese chronicles (the *Dīpavaṁsa* and *Mahāvaṁsa*) that Ceylon, Kasmira, Gaṁdhāra, Mahiṣamaṇḍala, Vanavāsa; Aparāntaka Mahāraṭṭha Himālaya and Suvannabhūmi, were converted by monks sent from India by Moggaliputta Tissa. Ceylon is said to have been converted by Asoka's son Mahinda (*Mahāvaṁsa* Chap, XIII, pp. 88 ff). The inscription "*Moggaliputtasa*" on relic caskets from Another and Sāñci *stūpas* makes Moggaliputta Tissa a historical personality (Lüders' Nos. 664, and 682).

In a learned paper in the Indian Historical Quarterly (Vol. VII, pp. 651 ff) N. Dutt has objected to Vogel's translation of *pasādakānam* as 'who converted.' According to Dutt as '*pasāda*' in *Mahāvaṁsa* means 'serene joy,' *pasādakānam* 'of those who brought serene joy.' But the account of the conversion of countries given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* makes Vogel's translation acceptable (Childers, *pasāda*).

75. Vide *supra*.

a railing around it) at the *Sīhaḷa-vihāra*,[76] one cell at the Great Dhaṁmagiri,[77] a *maṇḍava* pillar at the *Mahāvihāra*,[78] a hall for religious practice at Devagiri, a tank, verandah and *maṇḍava* at Puvasela,[79] a stone *maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the *Mahācetiya* at Kaṇṭakasela,[80] three cells at Hiruṁṭhuva, seven cells at Papilā[81] a stone *maṇḍava* at Puphagiri, and a stone *maṇḍava* at the....... *vihāra*.

Ehuvuḷa Cāṁtamūla

The son of Mādhariputa Siri-Virapurisadata by Vāsiṭhī Bhaṭṭidevā was Ehuvuḷa Cāṁtamūla, the last known king of the dynasty.[82] That he ruled for at least eleven years is shown by the inscription of his half-sister Kodabalisiri (H).

76. On the analogy of *Kulaha-vihāra*, *Sīhaḷa-vihāra* would mean the *vihāra* built by the Ceylonese monks or nuns or laymen. Perhaps a branch of the Bodhi-tree at Ceylon was planted at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

77. Could it be the mound to the north-west of, and not far away from the *Cula-Dhaṁmagiri*? On this mound are the remains of a *stūpa* and *sela maṇḍava*; the latter consists of a series of four cells on each of the north-east and west sides and a pillared hall 30′ 6″ x 30″: in the south with an open court situated between the pillared hall and the *stūpa*. The roof of the hall rested on sixteen pillars; all of them with the exception of two at the south-east and south-west ends have fallen down. (Plate V Nos: 1 and 4 ASR 1926–27, pp. 158–59).

78. Could this be the *Mahā-vihāra* (lit. Great monastery) to which the '*Mahācetiya*' is said to have been attached (B5).

79. According to Hiuen-Tsang it stood to the east of the capital of Tona-kie-tse-kia (Dhānyakaṭaka). It gave its name to a Buddhist school.

80. The name occurs in an Amarāvati inscription (ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. lxi; No. 54); Burgess and Lüders have read it as Kaṭakasola. But the *anusvāra* is clear on the plate. An inscription from Peddavēgi mentions Kaṇṭakośala (MER, 1926–27 No. 219). It is certainly the port Kontakossyla which is mentioned by Ptolemy (Bk. VII, Chap. 1, Sec. 14) and placed by him just north of the mouth of the Kṛṣṇā and which transliterates *Kaṇṭakaśūla* (the spear of thorns) the Sanskrit form of Kaṇṭakasola. The name is preserved in the modern Ghaṇṭasālā, a village thirteen miles to the west of Masulipatam and the sea. There is a *Cetiya* in the village (Rea, *South Ind. Bud Antiquities*, pp. 4 ff), and on the southern boundary of the village there is a mound named Polimēradibba on which loose bricks appear. Surely these are traces of Buddhist buildings (*Ibid.*, p. 42). But no trace of the *sela-maṁḍava* at the eastern gate of the *Mahācetiya* is available.

81. Papilā is perhaps identical with the Pāpikala of the Allūru Inscription.

82. H. t. ll. 3 and 10, Ehuvala; G2 t. l. 8, Ehuvula; G3 Ehuvuḷa. Only in G3 is *e* turned sideways. K. P. Jayaswal agrees with Hirananda Sastri

Buddhist monuments of his reign

The second year of his reign witnessed the completion of a monastery called '*Devi-vihāra*,[83] provided with everything,[84] by queen (*Devi* or *Mahādevi*) Bhaṭṭidevā for the grace and acceptance of the masters of the Bahusutīya sect.[85] This monastery, with a roofles maṇḍapa, stands at the north-east foot of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa on the Iṭikarāḷḷaboḍu where stand also a *stūpa* (No. 5) and two apsidal temples.[86] Inscriptions G-2, G-3, are borne by the *āyaka-khaṁbhas* belonging to *Stūpa* No. 5. Perhaps Bhaṭṭidevā built the *stūpa* and apsidal temples, in addition to the *Devi-vihāra*, thereby emulating her mother. In the eleventh year Kodabalisiri consecrated to the masters of the Mahisāsaka school a monastery and a *cetiya*.[87] The *cetiya* is probably Stūpa No. 6 on the top of the hill above the monastery. The latter, which is on the Koṭṭampalagu mound a few furlongs to the north of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, and commands a fine view of the Kṛṣṇā, has a pillared hall or pavilion in the centre with a row of twenty cells all round. The hall is sixty-one feet square and provided with a flat wooden roof supported by thirty-six lofty marble pillars. *Stūpa* No. 6 has yielded a number of sculptured beams,[88] two small medallions,[89] a silver relic

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in reading 'Bahuvala'. Says he:—"In the plate G, the letter *b* is misformed, but the full form is seen in H, where it occurs twice and is clearly the four-cornered *b*" (JBORS, 1933, p. 173, n. 1). The so-called *ba* has no resemblance whatsoever with the four-cornered *ba* occurring in these inscriptions. It certainly resembles the Jaggayyapeṭa *e* (ASSI, Vol. I, Pl. LII; t. l. 5).

Like Puḷumāvi it is a Dravidian word and both are difficult of interpretation. 'Ehu' of the name may be Tamil *Ehu* 'steel', a very old Tamil word.

83. This is another instance of a religious foundation named after its founder. Here the monastery receives the latter part of the queen's name.

84. *savajātaniyuto.*

85. G, G2, G3.

86. Structural apsidal temples of the very early centuries A.D., are very rare in India. Barring those at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, one has been discovered at Sāñci, two at Taxila, and one at Sārnāth.

87. Dr. Vogel reads *imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāro ca* and explains *khaniya* by a resort to '*khāṇu* pillar' (Childers. *Pali-Eng. Dict*, *Khāṇu*). What is read as *ni* is certainly *ti*, for unlike the loop in *na* the loop in *ta* ends in a downward curve. The word is clearly *cetiyam*, At Nāgārjunikonda *cetiyas* and *vihāras* are found together.

88. Pls. VI, 4; VII, 1, 2, 3 and 4, VIII, 1 and 2.

89. ASR, 1929-30, Pl. 37 d and c, one is embossed with the head of a Greek male figure and the other with the head of an Indian lady. They are not king and queen as they do not wear crowns.

casket much like the one found in the *Mahācetiya* and bone relics.[90]

The monuments which would seem to belong to the Ikṣvāku period, but which cannot be assigned to any reign definitely, are two *cetiyas* (Nos. 3 and 4) and a vihāra[91] on the hill to the north-west of and near the Nāharāḷḷaboḍu, the *vihāra* on the Nāharāḷḷaboḍu and *Stūpas* Nos. 5, 7, 8 and 9.

Buddhism of the period

Like the Amarāvatī inscriptions the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions introduce us to a number of Buddhist schools; the Mahisāsakas, an offshoot of the original *Sthaviravādas*; the *Bahusutiyas*, a sub-division of the *Gokulikas* who belonged to the *Mahāsāṁghikas*, the original schismatics;[92] the *Puvaseliyas* (offshoot of the *Mahāsāṁghikas*) who find place in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* along with *Avaraseliyas*, *Siddhathikas* and *Rājagiriyas*, are called, *Andhakas*. i.e. schools that took their rise in the *Andhradeśa*,[93] and the *Avaramahāvinaseliyas*, who were patronised by Cāṁtisiri. According to Dr. Vogel 'Avarasela' is perhaps the abbreviated form of 'Aparamahāvinasela' of our inscriptions.[94] Since a '*Mahāvinasela*' school is mentioned in an Amarāvatī inscription,[95] since we meet with 'Puvasela' and not 'Puvamahāvinasela' in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Inscription F.) and the Allūru inscriptions, Dr. Vogel's suggestion cannot be accepted. A fragmentary inscription from Amarāvatī has 'liyānaṁ' and before it space for four or five letters (*Mahāvinase?)*. The teacher belonging to this school is referred to as "*Mahāvinayaṁdhara*"[96] (versed in the Great Vinaya). Can *Mahāvinasela* be a form of *Mahāvinayāsela*, the elision of *ya* being not uncommon? Like *Puvaseliya* and *Aparaseliyā*, *Puvá-*

90. Dr. Vogel thinks that the eastern side of the *stūpa* is the most important one. But the relic caskets from the *Mahācetiya* and *Stūpa* No. 6 were found in chambers on the north-eastern side.

91. *Vide Supra.*

92. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus.* pp. 6 and 21.

Hiuen-Tsang found Mahāsāṅghikas in Tona-kie-tse-kia. Watters '*On Yuan-Chwang*' O.T.F. Series, Vol. II, p. 214.

93. Edited by Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 104. Avarasasela is also mentioned by Hiuen-Tsang as a hill which stood near the capital Dhānyakataka (*Ibid.*).

94. EI, Vol. XXI, M2, l. 5, M3, l. 6; Vol. XX E. l. 5.

95. ASSI, Vol. I, p. 105, Pl. LX, No. 49; Mahava(vi)nasela is mentioned as a place-name in Pl. lviii No. 35, (*Ibid.*).

96. *Ibid.*, p. 102.

Mahāvinaseliya and *Aparamahavinaseliya* schools might also have arisen. It is well to remember the remark of Rhys Davids.[97]:— "As the so called sects were tendencies of opinion, the number of them was constantly changing." Dr. Vogel takes *Ayira-Haṁgha* (C1, C2) to be the name of a school. In his paper, entitled '*Notes on the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions*,' N. Dutt contends that "*Ayira-Haṁghānam*' is another form of '*Mahāsāṁghikānaṁ*'.[97a] But '*Aira-Utayipabhāhinaṁ*' in an Amarāvatī inscription,[98] '*Āryamahāsāṁghikānāṁ Lokottaravādināṁ Madhyadesikānāṁ paṭhena Vinayapiṭakasya, Mahāvastuyeādi*,[99] '*Āyirānaṁ Puvaseliyānam*' in the Allūru inscription, prove that *Ayira* (*Ārya*) is not used even with reference to sects in the sense of '*mahā*' but only in the sense of 'venerable.' '*Ayira-Haṁgha*,' like '*Catudisa Sagha*' of the Nāsik and Kārlā inscriptions, would, therefore, mean the venerable *Saṁgha*.[100]

Cāṁtisiri's wish that the families to which she belonged and the whole world might attain happiness in both the worlds, reminds us of the Mahāyānist who places the attainment of Bodhi knowledge and liberation from worldly miseries of all creatures, before his own.[101] According to Hiuen-Tsang monks studying the 'Great Vehicle' lived in the *Āndhradeśa*. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa sculptures also show the *Mahāyānist* tendencies at work (worship of large Buddha figures, one of which was found in the large square chamber at the north-west end of tne monastery on the mound to the north-west of the Nāhārāḷḷaboḍu; three others were found at site No. 4).[102] Where, among all the Hinayāna schools mentioned, does Mahāyānism come in? The answer is given by Mrs. Rhys Davids :— "The extension of the Mahāyānist school was and is of a very vague and fluid kind. Those to whom it applied formed no close corporation."[103] Mr. Rhys Davids compares the relation of the Mahāyāna to Hinayāna schools with that of the various Roman and Greek Catholic schools to those of the early Christians.[104]

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97. ERE,: q. v. *Hinayāna*.
97a. IHQ, Vol. VII, pp. 647 ff.
98. Lüders, No. 1276; ASSI, Vol. I, p. 87. No. 45, Pl. LX.
99. *Mahāvastu*, ed, Senart, p. 2.
100. M. 15, EI, Vol. XXI, mentions (*Mahābhi*)*khu Saṁ*(*gha*).
101. This ideal finds expression in *Kāraṇḍavyuha* where Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva is represented as refusing to accept Nirvāṇa until all creatures were in possession of the Bodhi knowledge and were freed from worldly miseries (Sāmasvāmi's ed. p. 121).
102. ASR, 1926–27.
103. *Points of Controversy*, Preface, XLVI.
104. ERE, *Hinayāna*.

Ceylon and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa

Ceylon and Ceylonese Buddhism were in touch with Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Āryadeva, a disciple of Nāgārjuna (3rd century A.D.), was a native of Ceylon, but spent the greater part of his life in India. The pot containing his relics has been found in the Guntur District.[105] *Theris* of Ceylon would seem to have lived in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley, for the apsidal temple on the Nāharāḷḷabōḍu is dedicated to them. A *vihāra* built by a Ceylonese Buddhist is also mentioned (*Sīhaḷa-vihāra*, inscription F.). Probably the trade routes from the eastern ports and the *Mahācetiya* enshrining the '*dhātu*' of the Great Teacher attracted these pilgrims to eastern Deccan.

Buddhist Canonical Books Mentioned

A point of interest is the mention of the *Dīgha* and *Majhima* sections of the *Sutta Piṭaka* and of the five *Mātukas*.[106] The *Mātukas* are the condensed contents especially of the philosophical parts of the Canonical books in the *Abhidhaṁma*. On the authority of Burnouf's translation of the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, Childers says that it means also the list of *Vinaya* precepts omitting all the explanations and other details.

Administration: Administrative divisions

The biggest administrative division was the *rāṣṭra*, a division identical with the Sātavāhana *āhāra*. But the *rāṣṭra* division was known to the pre-Ikṣvāku period in the Āndhradeśa. The Allūru and Amārāvatī inscriptions mention *raṭhas*.[107] The division below the *rāṣṭra* was *gāma*.[108]

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105. *Vide infra.*

106. '*Dīgha-Majhima-paṁca-Mātuka-osaka (desaka) vācakānaṁ ācāriyānaṁ Ayira-Haṁghānaṁ ā(ṁ)tevāsikena Dīgha-Majhima-Nikāya-dharena bhaṇa (da)ṁt Ānadena*' (C1, C2). *Pali-English Dict.* q. v. *mātikā.*

107. ARE, 1923–24, p. 97 and Pl. II 4–5; *Caraṭhe Maca(pa)da*; ASSI, Vol. I, No. 17, '*Tompukiraṭhe(?) ādhiṭhane*'.

According to Burgess *adhiṭhana* may be the name of a town or may mean capital. After *adhiṭhane* we have a lacuna with traces of four letters and after it *vathavasa*. The lacuna would then seem to have contained the name of a town.

108. The villages mentioned in the Ikṣvāku records are Paṁṇagāma at which masters of the venerable *Saṁgha* are said to have resided, Govagāma, Nadatūra in Kammākaratha, Mahākāṁdurūra and Velagiri.

Officials

The official titles known to us are those of *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahātalavara*, *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and *Koṣṭhāgārika*.[109] A feature of the Ikṣvāku period is the bearing of two or more titles by the same person.[110] Vāsiṭhīputa Kāṁdasiri, Vāsiṭhīputa Mahā-Kaṁdasiri and Viṇhusiri of the Pūkīya family[111] and Vāsiṭhīputa Khamdacalikiremmaṇaka of the Hiraṁñakā family, bore the titles of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahātalavara*; the son-in-law of Siri-Cāṁtamula bears the titles of *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahātalavara*, and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*; perhaps this indicates a higher position than that of the other *Mahātalavaras*, which he enjoyed in virtue of his being the son-in-law of the king.

Official Titles: Mahāsenāpati

Vogel looks upon *Mahāsenāpati* as a nobiliary title on the score that the Sātavāhana *Mahāsenāpati* was in charge of rāṣṭras. It is highly improbable that high dignitaries are known in their inscriptions by their nobiliary titles only. In the Jangli Guṇḍu inscription a *Mahāsenāpati* in charge of an *āhāra* is mentioned along with a *Gāmika*, an official. A *Mahāsenāpati* with non-military duties was possible in an age of confusion of titles and duties. In all the records of the Ikṣvāku period the title *Mahāsenāpati* precedes that of *Mahātalavara* and except in one instance the wives of *Mahātalavara-Mahāsenāpati-Mahadaṇḍanāyakas* bear the title of *Mahātalavari* only.[112] Could this indicate that the title of *Mahāsenāpati* was superior to that of *Māhātalavara*?

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109. Since *Koṣṭhāgāra* means *'storehouse'*; Prākṛt *Koṭhagarika* is best construed as 'keeper of royal stores.' See also Lüders' No. 937, *Koṭhagala*.

110. In the Cinna Ganjam inscription of the time Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi we have *Mahatarakasa Mahā-e...*' The latter is perhaps the mutilated form of *Mahāsenāpatisa*; in that case the combination of two or more titles in the same person is not peculiar to the Ikṣvāku period.

111. According to Vogel Mahā-Kaṁdasiri of C5 is identical with Kāṁdasiri the husband of Cāṁtisirinikā C3. He however considers the lady mentioned in C5 as a co-wife of Kaṁdasiri, for while Caṁtisirinikā mentions Khaṁdasāgaraṁnaka as her son, the other lady mentions *Mahāsenāpati-Mehātalavara*-Viṇhusiri as her son, and both C3 and C5 were incised on the same day. In our epigraphs 'Mahā' and 'Cula' are used to distinguish a younger from an elder person, that is when they both bear the same name, e.g., Cāṁtisirinikā and Cula-Cāṁtisirinikā (B4, C5); Damila-Kaṇha and Cula-Kaṇha (Lüders' No. 1243). On the analogy of these names Mahā-Kamdasiri is either an elder brother, or some senior member of the Pūkīya family.

112. B2, EI, Vol. XX.

Mahātalavara

In his note on the Nāgārjunīkoṇḍa inscriptions Vogel says[112a] "The curious term *Mahātalavara* which is also met with in other inscriptions of Southern India must likewise denote a high dignitary, whose exact function, however, is not clear. The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word, but seems to be a term borrowed from some Dravidian language." As '*mahā*' is a prefix denoting a higher title, '*talavara*' is the term to be explained. Says Vogel: "We must leave this question to the decision of students of South Indian Languages. Can the word have any connection with Tamil *taḷavāy* (=a general), Tamil *talaiyāri* (=a village watchman) or Canarese *taḷavara, taḷavāra* (=a watchman, a beadle)?" Since Canarese *taḷavara* (=a watchman) very nearly corresponds to our *Talavara,* since Tamil *talaiyāri* also means watchman, *taḷavara* and *talaiyāri* are the words with which *Talavara* should be connected.[113] The title of *Mahāsenāpati* borne by *Mahātalavaras* may also exclude Tamil *taḷavāy* (commander). *Talaiyāri* as Tamil form of *Talavara* or *Talavara* as a Prākṛt variation of *talaiyāri* is phonetically possible.[114]

Since *Talavaras* are mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* with eighteen *gaṇarājas,* Vogel looks upon *Talavara* as military title. But the *Subodhikā,* a commentary on the *Kalpasūtra,* shows that it was an official title.[115] The *Mahātalavaras* would seem to have been viceroys. As has been suggested above, the office of *Mahātalavara* was a Sātavāhana one derived from the local office of *Talavara* much in the same way as the offices of *Mahābhoja* and *Mahāraṭhi* were from those of *Bhoja* and *Raṭhika.*[116]

112a. EI, Vol. XX, p. 6.

113. Tamil *taḷayārikkaṁ* (watchman's dues, SII, Vol. II, p. 119, n, 4) is certainly the Canarese *tāḷavārike* (EI, Vol. I, p. 402, n); *talāpāṭakā* as a revenue term occurs in the Kalimpur plates of Dharmapāla (IA, Vol. XI, text, l: 51). See Wilson, *Glossary*—talapada. D. C. Sircar connects *talavara* with Tamil *talaivan* (*op. cit.,* p. 16).

114. Pischel, *op, cit.,* Sec. 254.

115. *Talavaraḥ tuṣṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭa baṁdha vibhūṣitā Rājasthānīyāḥ.* This passage has been quoted by Vogel himself.

116. On the evidence of the Allūru inscription we may say that during the Sātavāhana period the title of *Mahātalavara* is not found in combination with those of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahātalavara.* On this score even the Ramareḍḍipalle inscription which mentions a *Mahātalavara* would also belong to the Sātavāhana period,

"...It penetrated also into Northern India, for there can be little doubt that it is identical with the mysterious word *taravara* which coupled with *mahāpratīhārā* (="a great chamberlain") is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated by the late Dr. Bloch at Basāṛh, the site of ancient Vaiśālī. This document belongs to the Gupta period. It was suggested by Dr. Bloch that the word *tarīka*, which occurs in the lists of officials in mediaeval copper-plate charters, may quite well be a corrupted form of *taravara*."[116a] These instances show that the office of *Talavara* survived the Ikṣvāku period. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates mention a *Mahātalavara-Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. Besides the instances cited by Vogel we have the Deo-Baraṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II of Magadha, which mentions a *Talāvāṭaka*;[117] the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta, assigned by Keilhorn to the first half of the twelfth century A.D.,[118] mention a *Talavargin*; and the Kaṭak plates of Mahāśivagupta mention a *Talahi*(?) *ta*,[119] and in an inscription of the Kalacūri king, Rāyamurāri Sovideva (A.D. 1173), the son of the governor of Ehūr is called *Taḷavara* Caṁdeyanāyaka.[120]

Mahādaṇḍanāyaka

The title *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* is unknown to the Sātavāhana period. As *daṇḍa* means 'rod' as well as 'army' (*daṇḍanīti*= administration of justice), the title can be explained as judicial or military. Since *Mahāsenāpati* was in origin a military title *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* would be a judicial one. All these titles were hereditary and sometimes more than one son inherited the father's titles.

Other Conclusions

The few glimpses that the Ikṣvāku records and sculptures afford into the social life of the period have been discussed in the chapter entitled 'Social, Economic and Religious Conditions', as it represents a continuity with the conditions in the Sātavāhana period and, in many aspects presents no break with the past. According to Vogel seaborne trade was "no doubt also largely responsible for

116a. EI, Vol. XX, p. 7.
117. CII, Vol. III, No. 46.
118. EI, Vol. IV, p. 258, n.
119. EI, Vol. III, p. 352.
120. EI, Vol. XII, p. 335.

the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India. The devotees of the Good Law were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves, but also their royal masters, to raise monuments of such magnificence as the great *stūpa* of Amarāvati." The remains of an ancient quay discovered by Longhurst on the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā near the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa plateau,[121] and the emporiums of Kaṇṭakossyla and Allosygne would seem to be evidence of a vast seaborne trade with Ceylon, Farther India, and the West. This trade was perhaps responsible for the gifts of crores of gold with which Siri-Camtamūla is credited. But the Buddhist monuments of the Ikṣvāku period were almost all of them constructed neither by merchants nor by their royal masters. All of them were, except the foundations attributed to Bodhisiri and a slab donated by Cadakapavatica, set up by royal ladies. It is then seen that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa cannot by itself prove that the flourishing Buddhism was a result of flourishing trade. It must also be noted that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa does not introduce us to such a glorious epoch of Buddhism as Amarāvatī, Gummaḍidurru, Allūru and Kaṇṭakasela, for we do not find at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa such a crowd of Buddhist devotees as at Amarāvati. Evidently the rise of the Brahmanical dynasties was silently undermining Buddhism from the beginning.

Of the Ikṣvāku currency we know nothing except that the *denarii* were current. Not a single Ikṣvāku coin has been picked up. As the Sātavāhanas made large issues of lead and copper coins which are discovered in heaps in the Kṛṣṇā, Godāvari and Guntur districts even to-day, especially at Nāgarjunikoṇḍa, it is possible that the Ikṣvākus did not find it necessary to issue new coins.

121. IA, 1932, p. 188.

CHAPTER VIII

KINGS OF THE BṚHATPHALĀYANA GOTRA

The meterial for a study of the dynasties that succeeded to the political heritage of the Sātavāhanas in the *Āndhradeśa* and in the areas south of the Kṛṣṇā as far as Pālār is scanty. Of the kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana[1] *gotra*, we have but a single copper-plate grant (the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of *Mahārāja* Jayavarman).

Chronology

The chronology of the period is far from being satisfactorily settled. While editing the grant just mentioned Dr. Hultzsch says[2]:—"The alphabet of his (Jayavarman's) inscription shows that he must have lived in the same period as the Pallava king Śiva-Skanda-varman who issued the Mayidavōlu plates." This view has been followed generally by other writers on South Indian History. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil not only follows Dr. Hultzsch but even says that the unknown predecessor of Śiva-Skandavarman Pallava ruled between 225–250 A.D.[3] A fuller knowledge of the Ikṣvāku dynasty than was possible before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions has led Prof. Dubreuil to change his views. He now places thr Ikṣvākus in the third century A.D. and shifts the early Pallavas to the fourth; but even here he maintains that *Mahārāja* Jayavarman and *Yuvamahārāja* Śiva-Skandavarman were contem-

1. Bṛhatphalāyana as a *gotra* name is not to be found in other records. But the phrase *Bṛhatphalāyana-sa-gotto* occuring in the Koṇḍamudi plates of Jayavarman leaves no doubt on the point. In these plates as well as in the records of the kings who are said to have belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana and Ānanda *gotras* we miss the dynastic names. This recalls to our mind some of the Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins where we have metronymics derived from Vedic *gotra* names, but miss the dynastic name. In the total absence of their dynastic names scholars have labelled the former group of kings as 'the Bṛhatphalāyanas, the Sālaṅkāyanas and the Ānandas.' It is like calling the Pallavas and the Kadambas as the Bhāradvājas and the Mānavyas respectively. We would avoid the confusion between the dynastic and gotra names if we call these kings 'kings of Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra*,' 'kings of Sālaṅkāyana *gotra*' and so on.

2. EI, Vol. p. 316.

3. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 54.

poraries.[4] Dr. K. R. Subramaniam has also followed Dr. Hultzsch. He would make the Ikṣvākus, Jayavarman and the Pallavas contemporary powers and give them a third century date.[5]

A comparative study of the alphabet of the Koṇḍamuḍi and the Mayidavolu plates throws some doubt over the contemporaneity postulated by Dr. Hultzch. No doubt the alphabets of the two grants have some common characteristics. Both exhibit a cursive writing. Both have the peculiar *e* which according to Dr. Hultzsch resembles the archaic Tamil *śa*,[6] the *ma* with a loop at the bottom, and the semicircle or triangle open at the top, replaced by a rudimentary vertical to which is attached on the left a curved stroke. Sometimes the curved stroke does not touch the vertical as in '*Yuvamahārāja*,' '*bamhadeyam*' and '*vitarāma*' (Mayidavolu ll. 1, 12 and 13 respectively); and in '*Māheśvara*', '*Jayavaṁmo*' and '*aṁhe*' (Koṇḍamuḍi ll. 3, 5, and 7 respectively). The *sa* consists of two curves one below the other but not connected still. Besides these common features mentioned by Dr. Hultzsch there are others like the peculiar forms of *ku, ke, ha, la,* and *na*.[7] These common peculiarities are evidently to be explained by the fact that the records come from one and the same area, from adjoining taluqs in the Guntur District.[8]

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4. JAHRS, Vol. V, p. 91.

'The Mayidavōlu plates are written in the same alphabet as the plates of Jayavarman'—*Ibid.*

5. "At the time of his (Siva-Skandavarman's) rule, about the middle of the third century A.D., the Bṛhatphalāyanas ruled what was later known as the kingdom of Veṅgi (Vēngi) and the Ikṣvākus were in possession of the Andhra country stretching from about Śrī Śailam northward and extending indefinitely into Dakshina Kosala and along the coast north of the Godavari." *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History,* p. 78.

While writting this chapter I got D. C. Sircar's monograph entitled *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan.* He has also followed the old view.

6. EI, Vol. VI, p. 86.

7. It is interesting to note that the cursive *ha* which agrees with the northern Gupta form (Bühler, Tables IV, 39) occurs in the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions of the time of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapurisadata, but does not occur in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of his reign. It occurs in a Kārlā inscription EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 282 and Pl. XVI l. 3). The peculiar *ha* on some of the coins of Gotamiputa Siri-Yaña Sātakaṇi was probably developed out of this *ha*.

8. Mayidavōlu is a village near Narasaraopet, the headquarters of the taluq of that name, and Noṇḍamudi is a village in the Tenali taluq. It is only to be expected that alphabets vary not according to dynasties but according to localities, and in establishing and comparative system of palaeo-

By the side of these common characteristics stand out certain differences in the Mayidavōlu grant which seem to indicate a further stage of development from the Koṇḍamuḍi alphabet. Says Dr. Hultzsch: "The group *jā* (Koṇḍamuḍi plates ll. 5, 11 and 34) has a different shape, the vowel-mark being attached on the right, and not at the top of the letter as in the Mayidavōlu plates (ll. 18 and 24). The *n* (or ṇ)[9] is identical in shape with the lingual *ḍ* but the dental *d* is represented by a separate character while in the Mayidavōlu plates no distinction is made between all the four letters."[10] The other differences which are more important for settling the relative chronology of the two dynasties and which have not been pointed out by Dr. Hultzsch are as follows:—

(a) Whilst the Mayidavōlu *sa* consists of two equal curves, the upper curve of the Koṇḍamuḍi *sa* is bigger than the lower one and resembles the upper curve of *sa* in all other inscriptions. This fact and the peculiarity common to the Mayidavōlu *sa* and the Koṇḍamuḍi *sa* which has been noted above make it probable that the latter represents a transition to the former. Whilst the two curves of the Mayidavōlu *sa*, which are more developed than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi *sa*, end in strong hooks on the left, the curves of the latter have no such finish.

(b) The broad-backed *na* of the two grants differs from the *na* of the Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi and the Gunapadeya grants, which has

graphy we must select territorial rather than dynastic names. The highly cursive writting of the Hīra-Haḍagḷḷi grant shows in its *ductus* a certain relationship to the Jangli Guṇḍu (in the Bellary District) inscription of Śiri-Puḷumāvi, the last of the Sātavāhanas. The similarity between Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi's and Uṣavadāta's Nāsik and Kārla inscriptions is explained by the area of their location. (JRAS, 1926, p. 625). The differences between the Mayidavōlu and the Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi grants of Śiva-Skandavarman Pallava must be explained by the same principle. The peculiar *ma*, *sa*, *ha*, *la*, *na*, and *e* are not to be found in the Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi grant. The Udayagiri cave inscription of Candragupta II of the year 82 (G. Era) is the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The Sāñci inscription of the same king is in the character of the southern alphabets (CII, Vol. III. p. 4). Instances of this kind can be multiplied.

9. *na* does not occur in the Koṇḍamuḍi plates.

10. It may be argued that this greater absence of differentiation in the Mayidavōlu plates may indicate an earlier period. But differentiation does not always represent a later stage of development. The looped *ta* and *na* are later forms of the *na* with the horizontal or curved base and the *ta* with the semicircle at the bottom, and yet there is less difference (sometimes no difference) between the former than between the latter.

a strongly curved base line, the beginnings of which we see in the Girnār *praśasti* of Rudradāman[11] and in some Kuṣāṇa inscriptions.[12] The Mayidavōlu *na* is more broad-backed than that of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates and this fact certainly pionts to a later period.

(c) Whilst the *e* of both the grants has a form not met with elsewhere the Mayidavōlu *e* is more cursive and ends in stronger hooks than the Koṇḍamuḍi *e*.

(d) Whilst the verticals of both the Koṇḍamuḍi and the Mayidavōlu *la* are bent to the left, they have longer tails add smaller bodies than those of some of the Amarāvatī inscriptions of the first and second centuries A D.[13] The body is smaller in the Mayidavōlu than in the Koṇḍamuḍi grant. This development can be traced further. In the western script of the sixth and seventh centuries the body becomes smaller and the tail correspondingly longer. True in the *la* of the grant of Cārudevī[14] (later than the Mayidavōlu grant) the body is more prominent than in the Mayidavōlu *la*, but even so the former registers a development over the latter in the enormous tail which is a feature of the *la* of the Eastern Cāḷukya and later Pallava charters.

Again the Koṇḍamuḍi *la* has not the angular or slightly curved base of the Mayidavōlu *la*.[15] However the *la* in '*alonakhādakaṁ*'[16] resembles the Mayidavōlu *la* (angular base) but even here the upper vertical is not bent to the left as in Mayidavōlu and the medial *o* sign over it is an earlier form of that found in the Mayidavōlu plates.[17] The vertical of the Koṇḍamuḍi *la* does not continue the curve of the body but starts from the middle of its right arm so that even careful epigraphists like Dr. Hultzsch cannot distinguish between *la* and *gi*. In line 42 Dr. Hultzsch reads '*tagīvarena*' for '*talavarena*,' and Dr. Vogel[18] thinks that the former is a mistake

11. Bühler, Tables III (vi).
12. *Ibid.*, V.
13. ASSI, I. Nos. 8, 16, 32 and 44.
14. The Cārudevī grant was mistakenly called a grant of Nandivarman of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra by Dr. Fleet in IA, Vol, V, p. 176. However, he corrected himself in Vol. IX. Since writing these lines I find that D, C. Sircar has also noticed the mistake, *vide infra.*
15. *la* with the curved base occurs in ll. 13, 15 and 22 while *la* with the angular base is found in ll. 2 and 6.
16. Koṇḍamuḍi line 32.
17. *Vide infra.*
18. EI, Vol. XX, p. 7, n.

of the scribe for the latter. This error arises from the rudimentary form of the Koṇḍamuḍi *la*.

(e) The curved horizontal member of the Mayiḍavōlu *ka* like that of the Cārudevī grant is surely later than the straight line of the Koṇḍamuḍi *ka*.

(f) The *ba* of the Koṇḍamuḍi grant with the notch in the left vertical which does not, except in a few cases, show a *serif* at the upper end (ll. 4, 10, 37 and 38) and is slightly open on the left at the top is less cursive than the closed *ba* of the Mayidavōlu and the Cārudevī grants. The Koṇḍamuḍi *pa* in its narrow and curved base is an obviously earlier form.

(g) The letter *ya* shows practically the same features of development from the Koṇḍamuḍi to Mayidavōlu as the letter *pa*.

(h) The vertical member of the Mayidavōlu *a* like that of the Cārudevi grant is longer than that of the Koṇḍamuḍi *a*. The lower end of the vertical of the former shows sometimes a bend and sometimes a reascent to the left. The reascent is more pronounced in the Cārudevi[19] than in the Mayidavōlu grant; in the later Pallava charters there is a reascent to about half the length of the vertical.[20] The curves at the base of the verticals of the Koṇḍamuḍi *a* are rudimentary, as those in Uṣavadāta's inscriptions from Kārlā. The upper and lower limbs of the two Pallava grants under reference are connected to the middle of the vertical by a straight line; in the Koṇḍamuḍi grant they are represented by a wavy line connected to the top of the vertical by a slanting stroke. While the vertical and left upper limb have nail heads which in the Cārudevī grant are turned into small curves attached to the top of the vertical (ll. 8 and 10), the Koṇḍamuḍi one has no such nail-head or curve. The general appearance of the Koṇḍamuḍi *a* is altogether more primitive.

(i) The medial *ā*, *i* and *o* signs of the Mayidavōlu plates show a more developed form than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates. While in the Koṇḍamuḍi plates the sign expressing the length of the vowel in *ā* is a short stroke attached to the middle of the vertical (ll. 6 and 9), in the Mayidavōlu plates it is a curve (line 4.) which becomes stronger in the Cārudevī plates. (ll. 6, 8, 10 and 16]. Even where the strokes are attached to the top of the letter those in the

19. ll. 6, 8 and 9.

20. Bühler, Tables VII, i, xx and xxii.

Mayidavōlu plates end in better curves and have longer tails (as in the Cārudevī grant) than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates. In the latter the medial *i* sign is a semi-circle ; in the other two it approaches the closed circle. The medical *o* sign in the Mayidavōlu *lo* (line 13) is a wavy line while in Koṇḍamuḍi (line 32) it is a horizontal stroke. Even where it is a horizontal line over the letter, the tail on the right is longer in the Mayidavōlu than in the Koṇḍamuḍi grant. In the Cārudevī grant it is longer still.

Scholars are agreed that the Cārudevī grant is later than the Mayidavōlu grant. The line of development is therefore from the Koṇḍamuḍi to the Mayidavōlu grant, and then on to the Cārudevī grant.[21] Even where the Mayidavōlu alphabet does not approach the Cārudevī alphabet, it shows more developed forms than those of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates.

The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by *Yuvamahārāja* Śiva-Skandavarman during the reign of his father (Bappa). The palaeography of the plates makes it therefore highly probable that Jayavarman reigned at least a generation before the predecessor of Śiva Skandavarman.

The general facts of history point to the same conclusion. It may be presumed that the find place of the Koṇḍamuḍi grant (Tenali taluq) is not far from the object of the grand.[22] Then Jayavarman's sway would have extended over lands soush of the Kṛṣṇā. The alphabetical peculiarities common to the Mayidavōlu[23]

21. The orthography of the grants furnishes corroborative evidence. Whilst the writer of the Kaṇḍamuḍi plates follows the practice of the Sātavāhana inscriptions where every double consonant is expressed by a single letter (the exceptions are '*bamhmhadeyam*' and '*Jayavaṁhmo*'), the writer of the Mayidavōlu plates adopts the etymological sp lling in '*paṭṭika*', '*datta*', '*sa-gotto*' and '*kārāpejjā*'. In the Hira-Haḍagaḷḷi grant the etymological spelling of the Pandit is more pronounced than in the other two. The orthography of Cārudevī grant is in accordance with that of literary Prākṛt. Dr. Hultzsch himself remarks (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 144, n. 5) that in this respect the two grants of Śiva-Skandavarman occupy an intermediate position between the Sātavāhana inscriptions and the Cārudevī grant.

22. supra. p. 152.

23. Prof. *Jouveau-Dubreuil sees in the* Kūdūra and the Kūdūrahāra, according to him roughly corresponding to the modern Bandar taluq of the Kṛṣṇa District, the capital and the kingdom respectively of *Mahārāja* Jayavarman. The Prof. has narrowed down too much the kingdom of Jayavarman. Scholars like Dr. Hultzsch and Kielhorn (EI, Vol. VI, p. 316; Vol. IV, p. 34; Vol. V, p. 123) are agreed that the Kūdūrahāra of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates is the same as the Kudrahāra *viṣaya* of some of the Śālaṅkāyana

and the Koṇḍamuḍi grants are corroborative evidence in the same direction.[24]

Whilst the Mayidavōlu grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Śiva-Skandavarman proves that the Guntur District or part of it was included in the Pallava division of Aṁdhāpata,[25] the Cārudevī grant shows that the Guntur region continued to be part of the Pallava Dominions during the reigns of *Dharmmamahārājādhirāja* Śiva-Skandavarman and his immediate successors Skandavarman and *Yuvamahārāja* Buddhavarman.[26]

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inscriptions and the Gudrahāra, Gudravāra and Gudrāra *viṣaya* of the Eastern Cāḷukya grants. In a Kākatīya inscription on the right door-pillar of the Bhīmeśvara temple at Guḍivāda (593 of 1893), Guḍivāda is said to have belonged to the district of Gudrāra. Dr. Hultzsch has identified Kūdūra with Guḍivāḍa, the headquarters of the taluq of the same name in the Kṛṣṇa District. A grant of Mahārāja Nandivarman Śālaṅkāyana from the Kollair Lake in the Kaikalur taluq of the Kṛṣṇā District makes it probable that the latter was also included in the Kūdūrahāra or Kudrahāra *viṣaya* of the grant. Thus the Kūdūrahāra of Jayavarman's time included besides the Bandar taluq the territory as far west as Guḍivāḍa, as far north as the Kollair Lake and as far south as the northern part of the Guntur District. Besides, in the Sātavāhana and Śālaṅkāyana records *āhāra* (or *hāra*) and *viṣaya* denote a division of the kingdom, not the whole kingdom. Kūdūra mentioned in the Koṇḍamuḍi grant is spoken of as the headquarters of the governor of the district, and as a '*vijaya-khaṁdāvāra*' i.e., royal headquarters in camp. According to Hemachandra (*Desikośa* q.v.) it may also signify a capital. In Nāsik No. 4 (inscription of Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi) which the inscription under reference resembles in phraseology, a '*vijayakhaṁdāvāra*' in Govadhanahāra is mentioned. The capital of Gotamiputa Siri-Sātakaṇi was Paithan, far away from Govadhana or Govadhanahāra.

24. Pāṁṭūra, the village mentioned in the grant as '*baṁhadeya*,' can be identified with Pottūru in the Guntur taluq. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil identifies it with Panduru in the Bandar taluq of the Kṛṣṇā District (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 85).

25. 'Viripara' the village situated in the *Aṁdhāpat(h)a* and the object of Śiva-Skandavarman's grant is certainly the Viṛpāṛu mentioned in the Kopparam plates of Pulakeśin II (EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 258) and perhaps the modern Vipparla in the Narasaraopet taluq of the Guntur District.

26. Siva siri-Āpilaka, siva Siri-Sātakaṇi, śiva Skanda Sātakarṇi; the prince called Khaṁda-nāga in a Kaṇhēri inscription (ASWI, Vol. V, p. 86) is called siva-Khamda-nāga siri in a Banavāsi inscription (IA, Vol. XIV, p. 331). These instances of the use of 'śiva' in the inscriptions and on the coins of the second century B.C. and second century A.D., make it highly probable that 'śiva' in the expression Śiva-Skandavarman is an honorific prefix and that therefore Śiva-Skandavarman and Skandavarman are identical. Sometimes 'śiva' enters into the composition of names, e.g., Sivamaka,

It is thus clear that the reign of Jayavarman in the same region must be placed before that of *Yuvamahārāja* Śiva-Skandavarman.

The rise of the dynasty

The rise of the dynasty of *Mahārāja* Jayavarman is shrouded in mystery. Even so, the Ikṣvāku records from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Jaggayyapēṭa make a tentative suggestion possible. The cursive writing of the Koṇḍamuḍi grant obviously places it after the Ikṣvāku inscriptions. It has been shown above that the Ikṣvākus ruled not only north and south of the Kṛṣṇā, but as far east as the delta of the Kṛṣṇā; then their dominions must have included at least a part of what was later on the kingdom of Jayavarman. The continuance of the Ikṣvāku offices of *Mahātalavara* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* under Jayavarman is another link in the chain of evidence that suggests that Jayavarman or his predecessors had a large share in weakening the power of the Ikṣvākus.[27]

As in the case of the Pallavas we are in the dark as to the founder of the dynasty. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates do not mention the father of Jayavarman even in the Pallava or Śālaṅkāyana fashion, i.e., under the form Bappa.[28] But could Jayavarman have carved out a kingdom for himself out of the debris of the Ikṣvāku kingdom, built up an administrative machinery, earned the title of *Mahārāja*[29] and entered upon a career of further conquests[30] within the short span of ten years?[31] Obviously Jayavarman's dynasty rose to power before Jayavarman came on the scene.

The Capital of Jayavarman

It has been shown that Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's and Dr. Hultzsch's view that Kūdūra was the capital is untenable.

27. Sircar boldly attempts to carry Jayavarman's dynasty to the second century B.C. He says :—"If we..............accept the reading *Pithuḍa* in a passage in the Hāthīgumphā inscription (l. 11) of Khāravela and the interpretation that King Khāravela of Kaliṅga besieged the city of Pithuḍa, it is not impossible to think that the Bṛhatphalāyanas were ruling at Pithuḍa= Pitundra as early as the time of Khāravela (second or first century B.C.)", *op. cit.*, p. 38.

28. Like Pallava kings Jayavarman assumes Brahmanical *gotra*, has a name ending in 'varman' and does not bear a metronymic.

29. He is called a *Mahārāja* on the seal and a *Rāja* in the plates.

30. The source of this assertion is the term '*Vijayakhaṁdāvāra*' (Koṇḍamudi l. 1).

31. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates were issued in the tenth year of his reign.

D. C. Sircar would locate it in Pityndra,[33] mentioned by Ptolemy as the metropolis of the Maisōlia region.[33] But Ptolemy places it in the interior of the Maisōlia region and there is no evidence to show that Jayavarman's dominions extended beyond the modern Guḍivāḍa taluq in the west. Ptolemy wrote in the middle of the second century A. D., and the Ikṣvākus of the *third century* A. D. had their capital in Vijayapurī. Nothing compels us to look upon Pityndra as the established *capital* of every dynasty that ruled over the *Āndhradeśa*. Under the Pallavas who would seem to have succeeded Jayavarman in the Guntur region Dhaṁñakaḍa (ka) is the headquarters of the Āndhra province and the town is as old as Pityndra if not older.[34] Dhaṁñakataka has equally good claims to be considered as Jayavarman's capital.[35]

Administrative Organisation

The kingdom was mapped out into districts called *āhāras* as under the Sātavāhanas, each under an executive officer called *Vāpataṁ*. The Sanskrit word corresponding to *Vāpataṁ* is '*Vyāpṛta*.' *Pṛta* is the past participle of *pṛ*; with the prefix *vyā* it means 'busied with or engaged.' *Viyapata* in the sense of 'engaged' occurs in the Edicts of Asoka.[36] The *Kāśikā*, a commentary (probably seventh century A.D.) on Pāṇini by Vāmana and Jayā ditya, equates *Vyāpṛta* with the *Āyuktā* of Pāṇini (II, 3, 40). The latter term (Pāli *ayutto*) means 'superintendent or agent.' It occurs in the Cārudevī grant and with the *ka* affix in later inscriptions.[37] In the Damodarpur inscription of Budhagupta (fifth century A.D.), it is said that Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* was administered by the *Āyuktaka* Saṇḍaka. *Vyāpṛta* and *Āyukta* were therefore officers in charge of districts much the same as the *amacas* of the Sātavāhana records and the *Viṣayapatis* of later inscriptions. The office of *Vapataṁ* is met with in the Koṇḍamuḍi, the Mayidavōlu and the Cārudevī grants only.[38]

32. The Pithuṁda of the Hāthigumpha inscription of king Khāravela.

33. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

34. It is mentioned in two Amarāvatī inscriptions of the second century B.C. (EI, Vol. XV, "*Some Unpublished Amarāvatī Inscriptions*).

35. McCrindle (IA, XIII, p. 370) would go to the length of identifying Pityndra with Dhaṁñakaṭaka. But the fact that the former is placed by Ptolemy north of the Maisōlos (the Kṛṣṇā) is against such an identification.

36. Shāh. V, Kal. V. Man. V, etc.

37. EI, Vol. XI, p. 175, t. l. 17; XII, p. 154; t. l. 60.

38. Dr. Hultzsch corrects '*viya*' of the Cārudevī grant to '*viya*' and restores

Another, perhaps higher, dignitary in the kingdom bore the titles of *Mahātalavara* and *Māhādaṇḍanāyaka*. These titles stand out in the Ikṣvāku period. as prominently as those of *Mahābhoja* and *Mahāraṭhi* in the Sātavāhana period and Jayavarman's dynasty is obviously indebted to the Ikṣvākus for these titles.

It may be puzzling that a *Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka*,[39] probably a feudatory like the Ikṣvāku *Mahātalavara* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* and the Sātavāhana *Mahāraṭhi* is entrusted with the task of preparing the plates, a task ordinarily entrusted to minor officers in the Sātavāhana stone records, where also engraving does not mean the preparation of the stone, but that of the copper-plates or palm-leaves.[40] Like the *Mahāsenāpati* of Nāsik No. 3 and the *Rahasādhigata* of the Hira-Haḍagaḷḷi plates who are said to have been entrusted with the drafting of the charter and who, as has been shown above,[41] would have only supervised the drafting, the *Mahātalavara* under mention was perhaps in charge of the department for the preparation and custody of charters. In the same grant the king is said to have drawn up the protocol (*sayaṁ chato*) which can only mean that a *lekhaka* drafted it under the immediate supervision of the king, for the king is also said to have issued the order by word of mouth (*aviyena āṇataṁ*).[42]

'*viya(pataṁ)*.' The occurrence of '*viyapata*' and '*vapata*' in Asokan edicts (vapata: Shah. V: and *viyaputa*: Man V makes '*viyapatam*' another Prakṛt form of '*vapataṁ*'. In the edicts '*viyapata*' occurs more often than '*vapaṭa*' or '*vaputa*'.

39. Dr. Hultzsch who edited the Koṇḍamuḍi plates long before the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru, and Rāmareḍḍipalle inscriptions were discovered read '*Mahātagivarena*' and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātagi family.' The peculiar form of *la* in 'Bṛhatphalāyana' (l. 4) i.e., the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve leaves no doubt that the letter read as *gi* is to be read as *la*. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions Dr. Vogel and following him other writers have merely remarked that '*Mahātagivarena*' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for '*Mahātalavarena*'.

40. The Koṇḍamuḍi plates ll. 36 and 37; Nāsik Nos. 3, 4 and 5. EI, Vol. VIII.

41. *Vide supra*, pp. 83–4.

42. Following Senart who derives the word from '*kṣan*' (to cut) Dr. Hultzsch translates *chato* by 'signed'. He says (EI, Vol. VI, p. 319): "The king's signature may have been affixed to the original document, which was deposited in the royal secretariat, and from which the copper-plates were copied." This leads us to the paradoxical conclusion that the operation i.e., the drafting of the charter which is not wanting in the cognate inscriptions (especially in the later Sātavāhana inscriptions which the inscription under

Whilst grants of villages to religious bodies or Brahmans is a feature of every reign, the similarities of Jayavarman's grant to the later Sātavāhana grants, which show the extent to which Sātavāhana administrative traditions were carried on to the period of their successors in the *Āndhradeśa*, invest it with special interest. The immunities expressly attached to the *baṁhadeya* in Jayavarman's grant are the same as those conferred on the *bhikhuhala* in the Sātavāhana charter.[43] The operations or formalities connected with the grants are in both cases verbal order, drafting, preservation of the record in the archives of the state, engraving, and delivery. The *parihāras* mentioned in and the operations connected with the Mayidavolu grant are different. More striking is the similarity in the wording.[44] Dr. Hultzsch remarks[45] ". . . . . the language and phraseology of the inscription (Koṇḍamuḍi) are so similar to the Nāsik inscriptions of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (Nos. 4 and 5) and Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāyi (No. 3) that Jayavarman's date cannot have been very distant from that of those two Andhra kings." This statement which implies Jayavarman's indebtedness to the Sātavāhanas for his political lessons was made long before the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa remains were brought to light. It has already been shown that some of the political institutions of Jayavarman's dynasty were inherited from the Ikṣvākus. Since the Ikṣvākus took up the thread where the Sātavāhanas left it, it is not improbable that Jayavarman is

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reference closely resembles in phraseology) is the only stage of which there is no trace in this inscription.

43. Kārla and Nāsik inscriptions of Gotamīpuṭa Siri-Sāṭakāni and Vāsiṭhīputa sāmi Siri-Pulumāvi.

44. The Koṇḍamuḍi grant opens in the same manner as Nāsik No. 4 (EI, Vol. VIII). The *parihāras* are expressed by the terms *apāpesaṁ*, *anomasaṁ*, *aloṇakhādakam*, *araṭhasamvinayikam* and *savajātapārihārikaṁ*. The instructions to officials are also couched in the same language: compare the Koṇḍamuḍi grant "*etamsi taṁ gāma Pāṭūra baṁmhadeyam kātūna oyapāpehi*", "*etasa casa gāmasa Pāmṭūrasa bammhadeyam kātuna parihāre vitarāma*" and "*etehi nam parihārehi pariharāhi etam casim gāma[ṁ] Pāṭūraṁ ba(ṁ)mhadeyaṁ katuna etha nibhaṁdhāpehi*" with Kārla No. 19 "*etesa (tu) gāma Karajake bhikhuhala deya (oya) pāpehi*" "*etasa casa gāmasa Karajakāna bhikhuhala-parihāra vitarāma*" and "*etehi na parihārehi pariharaḥ et. case gāma Karajake bhikhuhala-parihāre ca etha nibadhāpehi*". The formalities connected with the grants are expressed in the same terms. This is all the more interesting since the formulae of immunities were variable.

45. *Op. cit.*

indebted immediately to the Ikṣvākus. No copperplate grant of the Ikṣvākus and the later Sātavāhanas has been found in the *Āndhradeśa* (the western cave inscriptions of Gotamiputa Sātakaṇi and Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāvi are merely copies of inscriptions engraved on *paṭṭikā*, i.e., copper plates or palm leaves or cloth). It is however, highly improbable that the former who outshone the latter in their zeal for the Brahmanical religion, and who were as tolerant of the Buddhist religion as the later Sātavāhanas, did not make grants of lands to Brahmans and Buddhists; in such a case the phraseology of the Sātavāhana grants would have been kept up by them and transmitted to their political successors.[46]

46. The disappearance of the charters or *paṭṭikā*, of which the cave inscriptions of Gotamīputa *Siri*-Sātakaṇi and Vāsiṭhīputa Puḷumāvi's time are copies is to be attributed to the fact that they were written not on copper plates but on perishable materials—cloth and palm-leaves.

CHAPTER IX

THE VAINGEYAKAS

Śalaṅkāyana—A Gotra and Not A Dynastic Name

While editing the Ellore plates of Devavarman[1] Dr. Hultzsch remarked that Devavarman and his successors might be designated the Śalaṅkāyana *Mahārājas* of Veṅgīpura. He has been followed by other scholars. Says K. V. Lakshmana Rao: "The earliest of the dynasties of kings that Epigraphy has disclosed to us as having ruled at Veṅgī in the Krishna district[2] is that of the Śālaṅkāyanas".[3] Says D. C. Sircar: "It is therefore not quite impossible that the Bull banner of the Śālaṅkāyana kings was connected with the name of their family."[4]

Śālaṅkāyana is a *gotra* and not a dynastic name. The Pallava Vākāṭaka and Kadamba charters which give the *kula* and *gotra* names make the distinction between them clear. The Vaiṅgeyaka grants also make a distinction between *kula* and *gotra* names.[5] In all the records 'Śālaṅkāyana' occurs in the singular (Śālaṅkāyanasya, Śalaṅkāyanaḥ). In the Sātavāhana, Pallava,[6] and Vākāṭaka records the dynastic name is always in the plural, while the *gotra* name is in the singular;[7] and the alphabet and phraseology of the early Pallava Sanskrit charters bear a striking resemblance to those of the charters of the kings of Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*. In the

1. EI, Vol. IX, p. 58.
2. Now West Godavarı District.
3. JAHRS, Vol. V, Pt. i. p. 21.
4. Jl. of the Dept. of Letters, Calcutta, Vol. XXVI, p. 70: In some Sanskrit Lexicons Nandi is called Śalaṅkāyana *vide infra*.
5. '*asmat kula gotra dharma yaśobhi-vṛddhyartham.*'
6. The Mayidavōlu, Hıra-Haḍagaḷḷi, Cārudevı, Pīkira, Maṅgaḷūr Uruvupalli, Oṁgōḍu and Cendalūr grants.
7. In the Kadamba charters the dynastic and *gotra* names of kings are in the plural.

   Sometimes '*vaṁśa*', '*jāti*' and '*kula*' names occur in the singular e.g. '*kṣaharātasa Nahapānasa*' (Nāsik No. 10 EI, Vol. VIII, '*Khakharāta*' is referred to as a '*vaṁśa*' name in Nāsik No. 2); *Ābhīrasya Īśvarasenasya,*' (Ābhıra is a tribal name); '*Ikhākusa*' (Nāgarjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions). But our records do not resemble these in any respect. Sometimes '*Ikhāku(ku) lasa*' or '*Ikhākunaṁ*' occurs.

records of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman, *Mahārāja* Siṁhavarman and *Mahārāja* Kumāraviṣṇu, the family name immediately precedes the personal name whilst the *gotra* name is separated from the latter by laudatory epithets. In the Ellore grant of Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana, Śālaṅkāyana is separated from his name by the epithet *assamedhayājino*. It may be argued that the '*sagotra*' which is added to the *gotra* names of the donors in the Vaiṅgeyaka grants themselves is not added to Śalaṅkāyana.[8] But the remarkable similarity in the phraseology of these grants and the fact that sometimes *gotra* names occur without the suffix *sagotra* knocks the bottom out of this argument.[9] It would seem that in spite of the reference to their *kula*, the kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*, like Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra* bore no dynastic name; they were probably upstarts without any renowned ancestors, real or eponymic.[10]

While editing the Kollair plates Dr. Fleet remarked that the Śālaṅkāyanas were descendants of Viśvāmitra and of lunar extraction; he added "Perhaps these are the 'Solankis' of Col. Tod, who are included in the catalogue of the thirty-six royal races, and who for a long time ruled over 'Anhilvāḍpattana' in Gujarāt." Elsewhere,[11] he speaks of Śālaṅkāyana as a *gotra* name. However, he did not refer to the *Pravarakāṇḍas*, nor did he emphasise the difference between Sālaṅkāyana, son of Viśvāmitra and Śālaṅkāyana.[12] Four *gotra ṛṣis* bear the name Śālaṅkāyana.[13]

Sālaṅkāyana not the name of a tribe

The attempts of some scholars to see in Śālaṅkāyana the name of a people, becoming subsequently the name of a dynasty also, is wasted effort. Dr. Rayachaudhuri has identified the 'Salakēnoi'

8. '*Maudgalya-sagotrasya*' The Kanteru plates of Nandivarman, I.

9. '*Bhāraddāyassa*' (The Cārudevī grant); '*Bhāraddāyo*' (The Hira-Haḍagalli grant; '*Bhāradvājaḥ*' (The Pikira and Cendalūr plates); '*Kāśyapāya ......Vilāsa śarmmaṇē*' (EI, Vol. VIII, p. 162).

10. In the Kōmarti plates of Caṇḍavarman and the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman (EI, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff, and IA. Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff) we miss the dynastic and the *gotra* names. We miss the dynastic name, in all but three Sātavāhana records.

11. IA, Vol. V, p. 175; Vol. IX, p. 101.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 102. There is a Sālaṅkāyana *gotra* which has the *pravāras* Viśvāmitra, Kātya, and Ātkila.

13. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

of Ptolemy with the 'Śālaṅkāyanas' of Veṅgī.[14] D. C. Sircar accepts this identification[15] and adds: "It has been noticed[16] that the terms Śalaṅkāyana and Śālaṅkāyanaka (country of the Śālaṅkāyanas) are mentioned in the Gaṇapāṭha of Pāṇini. It is . . . . . certain that the Śālaṅkāyanas (Greek Salakēnoi) ruled over the Veṅgī region as early as the time of Ptolemy (*c.* 140 A D)." He would further consider Benagouron as a mistake for Bengaouron[17] which would represent Veṅgīpura. Having regard to the fact that in Ptolemy's Book the *ṅ* sound is not suppressed e. g. Gaṅgaridai (Book VII, Chapter 1, Section 81) and Periṅgkarei (Section 89), Salakēnoi can be rendered Śālakana and not Śālaṅkāyana. The Salakēnoi are placed north of the river Manadas which is almost certainly the Mahānadī, the great river of Orissa, far north of the *Āndhradeśa* of literature. Kings of the Śālaṅkāyana gotra ruled over the heart of the *Āndhradeśa* and the suggestion of some scholars that they ruled over Kaliṅga and Magadha (!) lacks proof;[18] and Ptolemy's description of the eastern part of the peninsula is not as much vitiated by errors as that of the western and southern parts. The *Śālaṅkāyanaka* of Pāṇini does not mean 'the Country of the Śālaṅkāyanas'; it is the adjectival form of *Śālaṅkāyana* which belongs to the *Rājanyādi* class. Names like Athenogouron make it highly improbable that Benagouron is a mistake for Bengaouron. Benagouron would correspond to Beṇānagara; and as several Beṇas are known, and the Benagouron of Ptolemy is on the banks of a river, a Beṇānagara is not impossible.[19] The Benagouron of Ptolemy is not called a metropolis, while Veṅgīpura was certainly the capital of the kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*.

Śālaṅkāyana of the inscriptions has nothing to do with the bull banner of the Vaiṅgeyakas

According to the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* and the *Medinīkośa*, Śālaṅkāyana also means Nandin, the vehicle of Śiva.[20] It is interesting

14. *Political History of Ancient India,* (4th ed.), p. 419, n. 1.

15. *Op cit.*, p. 70.

16. JAHRS, Vol. V, Pt. I. p. 23.

17. The letters might have been transposed in copying.

18. *Vide infra.*

19. A Beṇākaṭaka is known from Nasik No. 4, EI, Vol. VIII.

20. *Mahākālo mahābhīmo. mahākāyo vṛṣāṇakaḥ dvāḥ sthastu nandiśālaṅkāyanastāṇḍavatālikāḥ (Trikāṇḍaśeṣa śl. 49).*

to note that the crest of the kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* is the bull.[21] Since Śālaṅkāyana of our inscriptions is a *gotra* name, the heraldic device cannot be connected with either the *gotra* or the dynastic name but must be explained on other grounds. Neither the bull banner of Pallavas nor the boar banner of the Cāḷukyas had anything to do with their dynastic names. Jayavarman of Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra* was a worshipper of Mahāsena, and on the seal of his plates we have a representation of the trident of Śiva.[22] Some coins of Wima Kadphises bear the representation of Śiva with the combined trident and battle-axe, and the legends '*Mahārājasa-Rājādirājasa sarvaloga Īśvarasa-Mahiśvarasa Wima-Kathphiśasa*'. On some others we have a representation of Śiva and his vehicle.[23] In the Mandasor pillar inscription of Yaśodharman there is a reference to Nandi as an emblem on Śiva's banner.[24] On the seals of the grants of *paramamāheśvaras* like Dharasena II[25] the Maukhari Śarvavarman, the Gaṅga Indravarman[26] and the Gaṅga Devendravarman[27] we have a representation of the bull. The bull badge of the Vaiṅgeyakas is therefore almost certainly connected with their sectarian leanings. Once adopted by *paramahāheśvaras* like Devavarman it was continued by even *paramabhāgavatas* like the Nandivarmans.[28]

The Dynastic name adopted here is 'Vaiṅgeyaka'

Since, as has been shown, the only name occurring in the records of these kings is a *gotra* name, we would avoid a confusion

21. Of the five grants of these kings the seals of the Kollair and Peddavegi plates are much defaced. On the seal of the Kanteru grants of Nandivarman I (No. 2 of 1924–25) and of Skandavarman a couchant bull facing left with its hump is clearly visible. (However the horns and in the latter the legs are not visible). The plates are now in the Government Museum Madras. The device on the seal of the Ellore plates was thought by Mr. Venkayya to be that of 'some quadruped, perhaps a tiger.' An examination of the seal shows the body of a bull, facing left, much the same as that on the seal of the Kanṭeru grant of Skandavarman. The hump is partially visible.

22. EI, Vol. VI, p. 315.

23. *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta;* pp. 68 ff.

24. CII, Vol. III, p. 146.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

26. IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 119–20.

27. *Ibid*, pp. 273 ff.

28. We may liken this to the Śaivite names borne by the *paramabhāgavatas*, Kumāragupta and Skandagupta and the Nandivarmans referred to above.

between *gotra* and dynastic names, if we cease to call them Śālaṅkāyanas and tentatively gave them another dynastic name. Fortunately, the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta calls Hastivarman of this line a Vaiṅgeyaka. As kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* are the earliest known ones who ruled from Veṅgīpura, their dynasty may be styled Vaiṅgeyaka.[29]

Origins of the Dynasty

A thick veil is drawn over the origins of the dynasty. It has, however, been shown that D.C. Sircar's theory of the existence of the dynasty as early as the time of Ptolemy, and perhaps of Pāṇini, lacks proof. The passing away of the great Sātavāhana power would have given a tremendous fillip to the disintegrating forces already at work during its decline. Whilst the southern part of the empire came under the Pallavas, the south-western parts of the empire under the Cuṭus and after them the Kadambas, the *Āndhradeśa* fell under less powerful and more short-lived dynasties. In less than four and half centuries it saw the Ikṣvākus, the kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra*, the Vaiṅgeyakas, the Kandaras and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, rise and fall in quick succession. Since the later kings of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* were in possession of Kudrāhāra which is identical with the Kūdūrahāra of Jayavarman's plates, it is certain that the former rose to power at the expense of the rulers of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra*. The general opinion of scholars is that the Vaiṅgeyaka did not rise at the expense of the Pallava. It is argued that the starting-point of Vaiṅgeyaka power was Veṅgī identified with Peddavēgi,[30] near Ellore in the West Godāvari district, and therefore north of the river Kṛṣṇā. There is no evidence to show that the Pallavas ever crossed the Kṛṣṇā.[31] Even so the Mayidavōlu plates show that Dhaṁñakaṭaka (modern Dharaṇikot) and the Guntur and Narasaraopet taluqs were reached by the Pallava arm; as this part of the Guntur district came under the Vaiṅgeyakas later on, it is highly probable that the latter rose to prominence at the expense of the former also.

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29. We do not know whether Vaiṅgeyaka refers to the kingdom of Veṅgī or the city of Veṅgī. In the same inscription some kings are known by the name of their country e g. *Daivarāṣṭraka* Kubera and others by the name of their capital e.g. *Kāñceyaka* Viṣṇugopa.

30. EI. Vol. IX, p. 58.

31. All the Prakṛt and Sanskrit grants of the early Pallavas have been found south of the Kṛṣṇā, in the Guntur, Nellore and Bellary Districts.

Devavarman : He was not the first king of the line

The earliest known member of the dynasty is Devavarman.[32] But the expression *bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhakta* in his Ellore grant[33] makes it certain that his father (*bappa*) was an independent ruler, for *bhaṭṭāraka* of the Vaiṅgeyaka and Pallava grants, like *paramabhaṭṭāraka* of the Gupta and Valabhī records, is a title applied to independent kings.[34] The old view that Devavarman is the first king must needs be given up and the origins of the dynasty traced to the first quarter of the fourth century A.D.

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32. Like the other Vaiṅgeyakas Devavarman has the honorific prefixes 'śrī' and 'vijaya'. Dr Fleet (IA, Vol, V. p. 175) and Dr. Hultzsch (EI, Vol. IV, p. 143) considered 'vijaya' as an integral part of personal names. Later on Dr. Hultzsch somewhat modified his view by putting a hyphen between 'vijaya' and the name proper. (EI, Vol. IX, p. 58). Even here, he spells 'vijaya' before 'Veṅgīpurā' and 'saṁvacchara' with small *v* and that before personal names with capital V. In the expressions '*vijaya saṁvacchara,*' '*vijaya rājya saṁvatsara*', '*śrī vijaya Veṅgīpurāt*' which occur in the Vaiṅgeyaka grants 'vijaya' is certainly, an honorific prefix like 'śrī' 'śrīmad' 'śiva,' 'jaya' (Bhandarkar *List* No. 1528) and 'deva' (Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, Index). The Kāñcīpura of the Mayidavōlu and Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi grants is called 'vijaya Kāñcīpura' in later records. In the Kadamba grants we have '*śrī vijaya Palāśika*' and '*vijaya Vaijayantīpura.*' True these prefixes sometimes enter into the composition of names e g. Jayavarman and Devavarman. What makes it certain that in the Vaiṅgeyaka charters 'vijaya' like 'śrī' is an honorific prefix, is the fact that Nandivarman II calls himself simply 'Śrī-Nandivarman' in the Peddavēgi plates and Śrī vijaya-Nandivarman in the Kollair plates.

33. This expression occurs in all the Vaiṅgeyaka grants.

34. 'Bhaṭṭāraka' is a title applied to gods and priests (CII, Vol. III, Nos. 28 and 46 and Lüders' *List*, Nos. 43 and 1076). In a Nāsik inscription of Uṣavadāta (EI, Vol. VIII, No. 10) '*Rājan Kṣatrapa* Nahapāna' is styled '*bhaṭāraka*' (*bhaṭṭāraka*). That it was a title applied to Pallava *Mahārājas* is shown by the Uruvupalli grant where it is coupled with the title of *Mahārāja* (*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājapāda-bhaktaḥ*. Dr. Fleet has pointed out that in the Gupta and Valabhī records '*bhaṭṭāraka*' and '*parama-bhaṭṭāraka*' are titles applied to paramount sovereigns (*op. cit.*, p 17 and n 1); that '*bhaṭṭāraka*' in the expression under reference is a title applied to kings is evident from the fact that in Pallava grants of the same period (which resemble the Vaiṅgeyaka grants in many respects) it is applied to *Mahārājas*.

No term is so difficult of explanation and yet occurs over all parts of India as the term '*bappa*' in the expressions '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ*' (in the Pallava, Vaiṅgeyaka and some early Kaliṅga grants, EI, Vol. IV, pp. 142ff., Vol. XII, pp. 4ff., Vol. XXI, pp. 24ff) *bappa-pādānu dhyātaḥ* and '*bappa-pādaparigṛhīta*' (in inscriptions from Nepal and in the copper

But was the predecessor of Hastivarman

Before the Peddavēgi plates were discovered Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao considered Devavarman as the successor of Hastivarman of the posthumous pillar inscription of Samudragupta, whom he rightly conjectured to have been a king of the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra*. Even with the Peddavēgi plates (No. 3 of 1924-25) before him, Mr. M. S. Sarma[35] considered Devavarman as the son of Hastivarman and as the elder brother of Nandivarman I. The mistaken notion that a Prākṛt grant of Nandivarman I existed in Sir Walter Elliot's facsimiles was partly responsible for this view. It was

plate grants of the Calukya dynasty—JBBRAS, Vol. XVI, pp. 3, 4 and 5), and '*parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śri-bappa-pādānudhyātaḥ*' (in the Valabhi grants). Dr. Fleet's theory (CII, Vol. III, p. 186 n) is that since in the Valabhi grants (we may add in the Uruvupalli grant too) 'bappa' is connected with the paramount titles of *Mahārāja, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramabhaṭṭāraka and Paramēśvara*, since *ajjaka*, (Pali *ayyaka*, see Pischel, *Gram. Der Pra. Spra.* Sec. 252) in the expression '*ajjaka-pādanudhyātaḥ*' applied to Dharasena IV (JBBRAS, Vol. X, p. 79 and IA, Vol. I, p. 16). is the old Prākṛt form of the modern Canarese '*ajja*' and Marāṭhi '*aja*', '*bappa*', suggests itself at once as the old Prākṛt form of the modern '*bāp*, 'father,' (We may add of the Canarese '*bappa*' 'father ') •

But while '*ajjaka*' is certainly a Prākṛt word, '*bappa*' meaning father cannot be traced. Pali '*bappa*' (Sans. *bāṣpa*) means 'tear', since the founder of the Mewar dynasty is called '*bappa*' in one inscription (*Prākṛt and Sanskrit Inscriptions from Kathiawar*, pp. 88-89) and '*bāṣpa*' in another (*ibid*, pp. 75, 78). '*bappa*' of our inscriptions also would seem to be the Prākṛt form of '*bāṣpa*'. What then is the meaning of '*bappa*'? A way out of the difficulty is suggested by the personal names Bapisiri (Bappisiri) and Bāpaka (Bappaka, see Pischel, *op cit., sec* 305) which occur in inscriptions of the second century A.D. (Lüders' *List*, No. 1213 and EI, Vol. XVI, p. 235). In Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions a royal lady bears the name Bapisirinika. In the Hira-Hāḍagalli grant a predecessor, probably the father of Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman, is called Bappasāmi. This is a personal name for the following reasons:—in later inscriptions Bappasvāmin is a personal name, (EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 247 and 249, Vol. XI, p. 19) Bappasiri is the feminine form of Bappisiri and 'siri' like 'sāmin' is a suffix. In the Hira-Hāḍagalli inscription itself Bappa is the name of a donee. It is then reasonable to suppose that an early member of the dynasty of the Pallavas or the Vaṅgeyakas, perhaps a founder, bore the name Bappasvāmin or Bappa. His son or descendants may have referred to him in the expression '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pādabhaktaḥ*.' Subsequently the practice of referring to father and the unwillingness to change an old expression might have resulted in the same expression being kept with '*bappa*', however, referring to or meaning 'father'. This conjecture is made probable by the fact that in Marāthi '*bāp*' means 'father'.

35. ARE, 1924-25, II-2.

argued "that the assignment of the kings Vijaya Devavarman, Vijaya Nandivarman and *Yuvarāja* Buddhavarman of the Prākṛt grants, to a period subsequent to Samudragupta whose inscription is in classical Sanskrit is not tenable." Here is indeed a weak argument for the correct view. In the Peddavēgi plates which probably trace the descent in one line from Hastivarman to Nandivarman II, Devavarman's name is not found and therefore Devavarman must be placed either before Hastivarman or after Nandivarman II. Devavarman's inscription is in literary Prākṛt and as Dr. Hultzsch has noticed,[36] in one respect the language is more archaic than that of literary Prākṛt, i e, single consonants between vowels remain unchanged. The inscriptions of Nandivarman II (the Kollair and Peddavēgi plates) are in Sanskrit; since it is an accepted view that in official grants Sanskrit replaced Prākṛt, Devavarman cannot be placed after Nandivarman II. The palaeography of the plates under reference furnishes corroborative evidence. The general appearance of the Ellore plates is more primitive than that of the plates of Nandivarman II. The Ellore subscript *va* (t. ll. 8, 9, 11) which resembles the Koṇḍamuḍi and Mayidavōlu *va*, the *tha* with the dot in the centre which, in later inscriptions, is replaced by a short stroke in the centre or a curve attached to the left, and the *sa* are prominent instances.

Date of Devavarman

Since Devavarman's inscription is dated in his regnal year (13th year) it is not easy to fix his date. The lower limit is the date of Samudragupta's southern campaign; in the Allahabad inscription Hastivarman Vaiṅgeyaka, who came after Devavarman, figures as one of the kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha 'captured and liberated' by that Indian Napoleon during his '*digvijaya*,' and all that we can say at present is that Samudragupta's *digvijaya* took place before 380 A.D.[37] The upper limit is arrived at thus:—The Sātavāhanas passed away about 200 A.D. According to the Purāṇas, the Ikṣvākus who succeeded them in the Kṛṣṇā-Guntur region, ruled for fifty-two years. A period of twenty-five years may be allowed to Jayavarman's dynasty that succeeded to the political heritage of the Ikṣvākus in parts of the Kṛṣṇa-Guntur region. It has been already shown that at least a generation separates Jayavarman from Bappasāmi, a predecessor (probably the father) of Pallava Śiva-Skanda-

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36. EI, Vol. IX, p. 57.

37. Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins, Gupta Dynasties*, xx, xxxi, xxxii.

varman. It has also been noted that the Śiva-Skandavarman of the Mayidavolu grant is in all probability the Vijaya-Skandavarman of the Cārudevī grant. Calculating on the basis of the usually accepted rate of twenty-five years for a Hindu generation, we arrive at 340 as the approximate date of the Cārudevī grant.[38] The language, orthography and the Sanskrit verses of the Cārudevī and Ellore grants would favour the same period for both.[39]. But the phraseology of the Ellore grant which came to be widely accepted later on (especially in the Pallava grants) favours a slightly later perid for it.[40]

Events of his reign

Sometime before the thirteenth year of his reign Devavarman performed the *Aśvamedha*; for he styles himself '*Assamedhayāji.*' Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao disposes of this epithet as a vain boast that minor dynasties indulged in to emulate the Guptas; examples being the Cedis, the Vākāṭakas, the Kadambas, the Sālaṅkāyanas, and others. The Nāṇeghāṭ sacrificial inscription (2nd century B.C.) enumerates the numerous sacrifices performed by an early Āndhra ruler and goes into details about the *dakṣiṇas* offered. It states that a second horse-sacrifice was performed.[41] The Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavarman I is said to have performed eleven *Aśvamedhas*.

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38. The date of the grant is lost.

39. Both are in literary Prākṛt. In both the etymological spelling of the Pandit is adopted. In both grants every side of the plates is numbered. Palaeographically the two grants are apart. There is on the other hand much resemblance between the archaic Telugu-Canarese script of the Vaiṅgeyaka grants and the *grantha* script of the Pallava charters of the 4th or 5th centuries. (The few points of difference have been noted by Bühler in his *Ind. Pal.* pp. 70–71, Sec. 31). The Ellore grant is the only Prākṛt inscription where the letter *ṅ* occurs (Veṅgī and Śālaṅkāyana). In other Prākṛt inscriptions including the Cārudevī grant it is represented by the *anusvāra* (the letter occurs in early, mixed dialect inscriptions Lüders' *List*, Nos. 64a, 129, 130, 131, 133, etc.); and in Prākṛt *ṅ* sound is sometimes retained. (See Pischel *op. cit.*, Sec. 381, 386, etc.), This fact also favours a later date for the Ellore grant.

40. The 13th year of Devavarman would then be somewhere between 360-370 A.D. On palaeographical grounds, Dr. Burnell refers Nandivarman II to about the fourth century A.D. (*S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14, *n.* 2) and Dr. Fleet quotes him approvingly (IA, Vol. V, p. 176). Bühler leaves the question unsettled (*Ind. Pal.*, p. 65, Sec. 29A). Since Devavarman is removed from Nandivarman II by at least four generations, the chronological arrangement proposed by Dr. Burnell cannot fit into known facts.

41. '*Asamedho bitiyo (yi)tho*'—II B, t. l. 1.

The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena is credited with the performance of four *Aśvamedhas*.[42] The number of sacrifices mentioned makes the theory of boast untenable. The Ikṣvāku king Cāṁtamūla is credited with the performance of *Agnihotra*, *Agniṣṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha*. Pallava Śiva-Skandavarman is also styled an *Assamedhayājī*. The *Aśvamedha* was performed either before a king set out on a campaign of conquest (*digvijaya*) or in celebration of conquests. It involved an assertain of power and a display of political authority. There is no reason why the king of a small kingdom should not have celebrated his conquests and asserted his authority over the various parts of his kingdom in this manner. Economically too, the *Aśvamedha* was not impossible for a petty prince. If '*Assamedhayājī*' were a mere boast, every king could have styled himself an '*Assamedhayājī*'. Among the Ikṣvākus only Cāṁtamūla, among the early Pallavas only Śiva-Skandavarman, and among the Vaiṅgeyakas only Devavarman, bear this title.

Much less can this title be traced to a Gupta source. It is borrowed from the Ikṣvakus and the Pallavas. The titles applied to Samudragupta are '*Aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*' on some coins attributed to him, and '*Aśvamedhāhartā*' in the inscriptions of his successors.[43]

The only other event of his reign of which we have record is that in the thirteenth year of his reign, he granted 20 *nivartanas* of land to Gaṇaśarman of the Babhura (?)[44] *gotra* and house sites for the Brahman, his tenants and doorkeepers.

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42. CII; Vol. III, No. 55.

43. Mr. Divekar is of opinion (ABI. Vol. VII, pp. 164–65) that, since the Allahabad inscription of Samudragupta does not make mention of the *Aśvamedha* performed by him, he performed it after the Allahabad inscription was engraved.

In many cases, the Guptas seem to have been the borrowers. The earliest known inscription in which the expressions '*paramamāheśvara*' (*paramabhāgavata* is a similar expression) and '*vijayasaṁvatsara*' occur, is that of Devavarman.

44. Dr. Hultzsch read this word as 'Ba(bhura).' Prof. Keilhorn suggested that it might be meant for 'Babbru'. Considering the facts that the inscription presents archaic and modern forms of some letters (compare *va* in ll. 1, 6 and 7 with *va* in ll. 8 and 14; and *bhu* in l. 9 with *bhu* in l. 10 and *bha* in l. 18), and that the *u* sign in *ku* in the word 'Kuravaka' (Kollair plates) is not represented by a short curve attached to the right of the vertical but by a modification of the reascent of the vertical to the left,

Extent of his kingdom

Whilst it is certain that *Mahārāja* Devavarman ruled over a small territory around Vēṅgī, we do not know whether Kudrāhāra of the later Vaṅgeyaka grants was included in his kingdom or not. If Prof. Kielhorn's identification of Kurāḷa (Allahabad pillar inscription) with the Kollair Lake[45] can be accepted, the Kollair region (excluding modern Ellore) with probably Kurāḷa as its capital[46] was ruled over by a separate line of kings, one of whom was Maṇṭarāja, a contemporary of Hastivarman.[47]

Importance of Devavarman's Grant

Devavarman's grant is the most interesting of the Vaiṅgeyaka grants. It is the earliest known inscription in which occur the expressions '*paramamāheśvara*' and '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ*,' which are of frequent occurrence in later records all over India. It is the first record in this side of India to abandon the Sātavāhana method of dating (by the fortnight of one of the three seasons of the year, i.e., *gimhāṇapakha*, *vāsānapakha* and *hemantānapakha)* for that of dating by the month and *tithi*.[48] This method of dating is followed in the early Kaliṅga Sanskrit charters, in the inscriptions of the Pallavas, the Guptas, the Vākāṭakas and the Kadambas.[49]

'Babhura.' (Sanskrit Bābhru, i.e., Bābhrava *gotra*) is the proper reading. (EI, Vol. IX p. 59, n. 7).

45. According to Prof. Kielhorn (EI, Vol. VI, p. 3, n 3) '*jalam Kaunāḷaṁ*' of the Aihōḷe inscriptions can only mean the 'Kollair Lake' as the description of the water given in the poem would be applicable to it even at the present day and as Kolanu of the later inscriptions is a corruption of Kunāḷa. Kunāḷa and Kurāḷa of the Allahabad pillar inscription are identical, because the former is mentioned just before and the latter after Piṣṭāpuram. Could it be that Kurāḷa changed into Kunāḷa in less than three centuries much in the same way as the latter changed into Kolanu in inscriptions of the eleventh century?

46. In the Chellūr plates of the reign of the Eastern Cāḷukya Kulottuṅga Cōḍa II (Ś 1056) we are told that in the midst of a great lake in the *Vēṅgimaṇḍala* (the Kollair Lake) there is a town named Sarasīpurī.

47. Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta.

48. The Western Kṣatrapa records are dated by the month and *tithi* of the year, but the expression 'vijayasaṁvatsara' does not occur in them.

49. The exceptions are the Devagiri plates of Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman (IA, Vol. VII p. 37), the Dūdia plates of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena (EI, Vol. III, p. 260). the Halsi plates of the reign of Kadamba Ravivarma (IA, Vol. VI p. 28), the Oṁgōḍu plates of Skandavarman II (EI, Vol. XV, p. 249), the

Hastivarman

The chronological arrangement proposed above not only makes the identity of Hastivarman of the Peddavēgi plates with the Hastivarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta certain,[50] but also makes it probable that he was the immediate successor of Devavarman. Much cannot be made of the epithet '*samarāvāptavijayino*' applied to him, as the credit for having won many battles is taken by every prince and as similar epithets are indifferently applied even in the case of sovereigns not far removed from one another.[51] But it is certain that the whirlwind campaign of Samudragupta, perhaps because of its transient nature in the south, did not interrupt the fortunes of the Vaiṅgeyakas, and Hastivarman must have resumed his normal course, when the brief disturbance of Samudragupta's inroad passed away.

Nandivarman I: A misconception about him

The son and successor of Hastivarman was Nandivarman I; in the Peddavēgi plates he is credited with many gifts. An oversight has vitiated all theories about Vaiṅgeyaka genealogy. While editing the Kollair plates of Nandivarman II Dr. Fleet remarked[52]:— "In Sir Walter Elliot's facsimiles I have another copper plate inscription of Vijayanandivarmā and his Yuvamahārāja, whose name seems to be Vijayatuṅgavarmā or Vijayabuddhavarmā ;................ the characters are, in fact, so rude and indistinct, that I doubt whether a transcription of it can be made. The language, ...seems to be Prākṛt or Pāli, as the first line commences '*(Sva)sti-śri vijayanandivarmma-mahārājassa,*.................' " Subsequently[53] Dr. Fleet gave a transcript of the inscription and observed

Hira Hadagalli and Mayidavōlu plates of Śiva-Skandavarman I and all the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions except the Rāmatīrtham plates. In these, the Sātavāhana method of dating is followed.

50. It is curious that in Sewell's *Historical Inscriptions of South India* (1932), Hastivarman of Veṅgi is called a Pallava Viceroy.

51. The epithets applied to Skandavarman in the Uruvapalli grant are applied to his son, Viravarman in the Pikira grant. Epithets like '*pratāpopanata rājamaṇḍalasya*' and '*abhyarchita śakti siddhi saṁpannasya*' are applied to Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman's father in the former grant and to his grandfather in the latter. Instances can be multiplied.

52. IA, Vol. V, pp. 175-176.

53. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

'Vijayabuddhavarmā is said to be a Pallava and of the Bhāraṭṭāyaṇa or Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. There is, therefore, no genealogical connection between the Vijayabuddhavarmā of this grant, and Vijayanandivarmā of the Veṅgī grant at Vol. V, p. 175, who was of the Śālaṅkāyana *gōtra*.' We might add, the father of Buddhavarmā is Skandavarma. This grant, now called the British Museum plates of Cārudevī, has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch in the pages of *Epigraphia Indica*.[54] This correction has been overlooked by almost all scholars. Prof Jouveau Dubreuil identified Nandivarman of 'Elliot's unpublished Prākṛt grant' with Nandivarman of the Kollair plates! K. V. Lakshmana Rao, while repeating the mistake, placed 'Vijayanandivarman' and 'Vijayabuddhavarman' after Devavarman and before Caṇḍavarman. With the Peddavēgi plates before them the Epigraphy Department identified 'Vijayanandivarman' of 'Elliot's unpublished Prākṛt grant' with Nandivarman I of the Peddavēgi plates and made Buddhavarman the elder brother of Caṇḍavarman. If only Dr. Fleet's correction had been noted, all these mistakes could have been avoided.[55]

Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant is probably Nandivarman I

While editing the Kanteru grants,[56] K. V. Lakshmana Rao identified Nandivarman of one of them[57] with Nandivarman II (known to us from the Kollair and Peddavēgi plates). He has been followed by D. C. Sircar and others. This view cannot, however, be upheld. In both the grants Nandivarman II calls himself the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman.[58] Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant is not so called. True in two grants,[59] Kadamba Mṛgeśavarma is called the eldest son of Śāntivarma, and in one, as simply the son of Śāntivarma.[60] Even so, Nandivarman of the Kanteru grant is not even called the son of Caṇḍavarman; and when we consider the remarkable similarity in the phraseology of the Vaiṅgeyaka grants, this omission is all the more significant. In both

54. Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff.

55. D. C. Sircar also has pointed out of this error. (*Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Eastern Deccan*, pp. 57–58).

56. JAHRS, Vol. V, Part i. pp. 22 ff.

57. No. 2 of 1924–25.

58. '*Mahārāja Caṇḍavarmaṇas-sūnurjyeṣṭaḥ*' Kollair plates. '*Mahārājādhirājasya Caṇḍavarmaṇaḥ putro jyeṣṭaḥ*'—Peddavēgi plates.

59. IA, Vol. VI, pp. 24–25 and 27–29.

60. IA. Vol. VI, pp. 25–27.

the grants of Nandivarman II,[61] a '*Mūlakura bhojaka*' is mentioned as the *ājñapti*. The Kanteru plates do not mention any *ājñapti*.[62]

The palaeography of the plates also supports our view. In the Kanteru grant of Nandivarman the left half of the horizontal member of *ka* is looped. This feature is not to be found in any other Vaiṅgeyaka grant. Whilst in the Peddavēgi and Kollair plates the reascent to the left of the verticals *a*, *ka* and *ra* and the *u* sign in *ku*, *yu*, *nu* and *mu*, is up to half the length of the vertical and sometimes more, in the Kanteru plates, the reascent is much less.[63] This makes their attribution to Nandivarman I's time possible.[64]

Extent of his kingdom

If the conclusion tentatively proposed here can stand, Kudrāhāra *viṣaya* was included in Nandivarman I's kingdom.[65] The extent of this province is not, however, easy of determination. In the ARE of 1924-25, Kuravaṭa (there read as Kurāvāṭa) was identified with Kurāḍa in the Guḍivāḍa taluq and Lakumari (there read as Lekumāri) with Lokamuḍi in the Kaikalur taluq. This would make the Kṛṣṇā the southern boundary of the kingdom. Since Kanteru, six miles north of Guntur, is the findspot of two Vaiṅgeyaka grants, since Cittapura can be identified with Cintalapūdi in the Tenali taluq, it is highly probable that a part of the modern Guntur District was included in Kudrāhāra, as in the time of Jayavarman. What would be a conjecture is raised to a certainty by the term '*Vēṅgorāṣṭra*' of the Māṅgaḷūr grant of *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugopavarman issued from Daśanapura (tentatively identified with modern Darsi by Mr. Venkayya). '*Vēṅ-*

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61. Kollair and Peddavēgi grants.

62. We might be in a position to discuss the question more satisfactorily if the plate containing the injuctions to officers and the date had not been missing.

63. Especially in ll. 1 and 2.

64. An examination of the seal reveals five letters by the side of and above the bull (not below the bull as K. V. Lakshmana Rao thought—JAHRS, Vol. V. Pt. i, p. 22). They appear to be *ma*, *ha* and *ra*, *na* (or *no*) and *śri*. Between the third and fourth letter there is space for two or three letters. However, the first three letters are bigger than the other two. According to K. V. Lakshmana Rao, there are only two letters "one of which appears to be *ra* and another *nu*."

65. The inscription records the grant of 12 *nivartanas* of land in Kuravaṭa vilage in the Kudrāhāra *viśaya* to Svāmicandra of the Maudgalya *gotra*.

gorāṣṭra is probably a scribal error for '*Veṅgirāṣṭra*,' for in all records we have *Vengideśa* or *Vengimaṇḍalam*. Māṅgaḷūr may be identified with Maṅgaḷagiri in the Guntur taluq. Only a part of the Vaiṅgeyaka kingdom conquered by the Pallavas could have been so named. No Pallava inscription speaks of the conquest of Veṅgī and the grants of Simhavarman, his father Viṣṇugopavarman, and his grandfather Skandavarman (fourth and fifth centuries), have been found south of the Kṛṣṇā. That part of the Vaiṅgeyaka kingdom which was conquered by the Pallavas must have lain south of the Kṛṣṇā.

Caṇḍavarman

Caṇḍavarman was the son and successor of Nandivarman I.[66] While editing the Kōmarti[67] plates of Caṇḍavarman of Kaliṅga (Kaliṅgādhipati), Dr. Hultzsch remarked that considering the similarity in names, the expression '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ*' and the close resemblance between the alphabets of the two grants "the father of Vijayanandivarman may have been identical with the *Mahārāja* Chaṇḍavarman who issued the Kōmarti plates. At any rate, the two Chaṇḍavarmans must have belonged to the same period. An examination of the seal, which, according to Sir W. Elliot, is defaced, would probably show if it reads *Pitribhaktaḥ* and if, consequently, the plates of Vijayanandivarman may be assigned with certainty to the same dynasty as the Kōmarti and Chicacole plates."[68] Adopting this suggestion (i.e., that the Vaiṅgeyakas ruled over Kaliṅga) Kielhorn classed the Kollair grant as a North Indian inscription.[69] D. R. Bhandarkar who has recently revised and enlarged Kielhorn's list has not availed himself of the fresh evidence available.[70]

In fairness to Dr. Hultzsch it must be stated that he was aware that the phraseology of the Kōmarti plates resembles that of the copper-plates of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and much more closely[71] that of the Chicacole plates of Nandaprabhañjanavarman. Moreover

66. The Peddavēgi plates. 'Caṇḍa' means 'wrathful, violent, fearful'; probably here is a reference to the fearful form of Bhairava (Śiva).

67. Ganjam District.

68. EI, Vol. IV, p. 143,

69. *Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 686.

70. EI, Vols. XIX-XXI, No. 1908.

71. IA, Vol. XIII, pp. 49 ff. and Pl.

when he wrote, only one Vaiṅgeyaka grant was known. He could have however withdrawn his statement when he edited the Ellore grant of Devavarman, but did not do so. The phraseology of the Kōmarti grant is totally different from that of the Vaiṅgeyaka grants which exhibit a remarkable similarity among themselves. Caṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti plates is styled 'Kaliṅgādhipati' and issued the charter from Siṁhapura identified with the modern Siṅgupuram between modern Chicacole and Narasannapeṭa; all the Vaiṅgeyaka grants were issued from Veṅgīpura, and in none of the six Vaiṅgeyaka kings known to us is the ruler called 'Kaliṅgādhipati'. It is not stated that Caṇḍavarman, the 'Kaliṅgādhipati', belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* and was a devotee of 'Citrarthasvāmi'! No conclusion can be based upon the expression '*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhaktaḥ*' as it was used by various dynasties.[72] Similarity in names (in the case of the dynasties of the eastern Deccan between the third and sixth centuries) proves nothing. Caṇḍavarman might have been as much a name common to the Vaiṅgeyaka and Kaliṅga dynasties,[73] as Hastivarman was to Gaṅga Vaiṅgeyaka and Kandara dynasties and as Skandavarman and Nandivarman were to the Pallava and Vaiṅgeyaka dynasties.[74]

The epithet '*pratāpopanata sāmantaḥ*' applied to Caṇḍavarman in the Peddavēgi plates would seem to be conventional.

Nandivarman II

Nandivarman II is referred to as the eldest son of Caṇḍavarman;[75] the latter, then, would seem to have had two or more sons. Of the events of Nandivarman's reign nothing is known except that he granted the village of Vide (ḍe) tūrapallikā[76] in Kudrāhāra to

72. Pallava and Kaliṅga dynasties. Also *vide supra*.

73. Caṇḍa often enters into the composition of personal names. Caṇḍamahāsena (EI, Vol. XXI, p. 178), Caṇḍaketu, Caṇḍavikrama Caṇḍasiṁha; Caṇḍaprabha, etc.

74. Dr. Hultzsch has not noted the difference between the alphabets of the Kollair and Kōmarti grants. The thick dots or nail-heads at the top and bottom of letters in the latter grant are not so prominent in the former. The Kōmarti *va* lacks the notch of the Vaiṅgeyaka *va*.

75. The practice of naming the grandson after the grandfather was not only prevalent among the Ikhākus, the Guptas, the Vākaṭas, the Pallavas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins but was sanctioned in books. (EI, Vol. XX, p. 6, n. 2).

76. Dr. Fleet read it as Videnūrapallikā. The reasons for adopting the reading given here are stated below.

157 Brahmands of various *gotras* and *caraṇas* living in the excellent Kuravaka *agrahāra* in the 7th year, and 10 *nivartanas* of land in Aṛutoṛa, 10 in Muṇḍūru, 6 in Ceñceruva and 6 in Karuṁburāñceruva as '*devahalam*' to *Viṣṇugṛhasvāmin* (God in the Viṣṇu temple), lord of the three worlds, in the tenth year.

Skandavarman

It is no easy to settle Skandavārman's place in Vaiṅgeyaka genealogy; those who identify Nandivārman of the Kanteru grant (No. 2 of 1924–25) with Nandivarman II consider Skandavarman of the Kanteru grant (No. 1 of 1924–25) as his brother. The sources of this assertion are the epithet '*sūnurjyeṣṭhaḥ*' applied to Nandivarman II and the common findspot of the two grants. But it has been shown above that Nandivārman of No. 2 of 1924–25, is probably Nandivarman I. Since Skandavarman and Nandivarman grant lands to persons belonging to the same *gotra*, probably father and son, and since the two grants come from the same place, Skandavarman might bave been a brother and successor of Nandivarman I, omitted in the genealogical list much in the same way as Devavarman in the Rāmatīrtham plates and Vikramendravarman I in the Ipūr plates set II. Palaeographically no objection can be taken to this view.[77]

Contemporary Powers

The theory that the Vaiṅgeyakas were somehow related to the Pallavas of the early Sanskrit charters (i.e., Skandavarman, I Viravarman, Skandavarman II, *Yuvamahārāja* Viṣṇugopavarman, Siṁhavarman etc.) and hence were left unmolested by the latter who were more powerful, lacks adequate proof. Similarity in the names or the bull banner (adopted by both the dynasties) cannot prove matrimonial or family ties. 'Skanda' enters into the composition of not only Vaiṅgeyaka and Pallava, but also Sātavāhana and Cuṭu names. Nandivarman, a name of frequent occurrence in Vaiṅgeyaka genealogy, occurs in Pallava genealogy only during and after the sixth cenrury A.D. (i.e., after the Vaiṅgeyakas had passed away); The bull crest of both dynasties has a section, not

77. Since a part of the Vaiṅgeyaka kingdom, probably the whole of it south of the Kṛṣṇā, would seem to come under Pallava sway during or before the time of Siṁhavarman (middle of the fifth century), it is probable that Skandavarman preceded Nandivarman II who has to be placed in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D.

dynastic, significance.[78] Since we do not know how Samudragupta's invasion affected the Pallava, we cannot build much upon the fact of the Vaiṅgeyakas not being molested by the Pallavas. Even supposing that the latter were as strong as ever, political and geographical reasons might have prevented them from crossing the Kṛṣṇā to attack Veṅgī. It has also been shown that during the decline of Vaiṅgeyaka power, the Pallava sliced off a part of the kingdom—i.e., the territory south of the Kṛṣṇā. This thrust must have been one of the causes of its downfall.

Kaliṅga of the same period would seem to have been ruled by powerful kings. The three kings who, on palaeographical grounds, have been assigned to this period are Caṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti plates, Nandaprabhañjanavarman of the Chicacole plates and *Mahārāja* Umavarman of the Bṛhatproṣṭhā grant.[79] One more *Kaliṅgādhipati* of the same period, who, however, would seem to have belonged to another line, is Vāsiṣṭhīputra *Mahārāja* Śrī-Śaktivarman.[80]

SECTION II

GOVERNMENT, RELIGION AND SOCIAL LIFE

Administrative Units

The land-grands incidentally throw some light on the administrative system. The kingdom was divided into *viṣayas*. Whilst it is certain that the territory around the capital was not included in the *Kudrāhāra-viṣaya*, we do not know how it was called:[81] It has been shown above that *āhāra*, *raṭṭha* and *viṣaya* denote the same territorial division, not more in extent than a modern district. Below the *viṣaya* was *grāma* and below that *pallikā* or *pallikā-grāma* (a hamlet). No division between *viṣaya* and *grāma* is mentioned.

78. *Vide supra.*

79. EI, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff.

81. The Ellore and Peddavēgi grants in which the inhabitants of Elūr (modern Ellore) and Prālūra (Paloura, Ptolemy) respectively are addressed, do not mention Kudrāhāra-viṣaya. The Kollair plates prove that the Kollair region was included in the Kudrāhāra-viṣaya.

Officers

Each '*viṣaya*' was under an officer called *Viṣayapati.*[82] The *Dēśādhipati* of the Peddavēgi and Kollair plates would seem to be but the same officer under another name. True, under the Eastern Cāḷukyas, '*deśa*' denoted a kingdom of which '*viṣayas*' were divisions.[83] However, in the Uruvupalli grant, Muṇḍarāṣṭra is also called a '*viṣaya.*'[84] Like '*viṣaya*' and '*rāṣṭra*' '*deśa*' sometimes denotes a kingdom and sometimes a province.[85] Cannot, therefore, '*viṣaya*' and '*deśa*' in the same inscription denote the same territorial division? Since the Vaiṅgeyaka kingdom would seem to have comprised only two *viṣayas*, a higher division than a '*viṣaya*' is impossible. Other officers (but subordinate to the *Viṣayapati*) whose functions cannot be adequately defined are the *Āyuktakas, Niyuktas, Niyogas, Rājapuruṣas,* and *Vallabhas. Rājapuruṣas* (lit. royal agents) are probably the same as the *Śāsanasaṁcārins* of the early Pallava charters.[86] According to Hemachandra, '*Vallabha*' means '*Adhyakṣa.*' As, according to the lexicographer Jaṭādhara, '*Vallabha*' is a synonym of '*Aśvarakṣa*'[87] and as '*Vallabhas*' are distinguished from '*Go-vallabhas*', '*Vallabha*' of our records may mean either 'keepers of horses' or 'keepers of cows'.

Offices Borrowed

The writting of the Peddavēgi plates as that of the Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi grant is attributed to a *Rahasyādhikṛta* (confidential minister). This title would seem to have been borrowed from the Pallavas as also *Vallabha.* The practice of making *bhojakas* (freeholders) executors of grants is also a Pallava practice.

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82. C. P. No. 1 of 1924–25.

83. Their kingdom was called *Veṅgideśa*; and some of their grants (IA, Vol. VIII, p. 76; Vol XIII, pp. 213 ff.) record grants made in the Pennāṭavāḍi, Gudrāvāra and Pāgunavara *viṣayas.*

84. IA, Vol. V. pp. 50 ff., t. ll. 17 and 28.

85. CII, Vol. III, p. 31, t. l. 4.

86. The *Pulisas* of Asoka's inscriptions (Pillar Edicts) are royal agents whom all officers are asked to obey. Sometimes the word denotes ordinary persons (subjects).

The *Vallabhas* are mentioned along with the *Rājapuruṣas* in our inscription and with the *Śāsanasaṁcārins* in the Pīkira, Māṅgaḷūr and Uruvupalli grants.

87. We owe this suggestion to D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 79, n. 1. Dr. Hultzsch translates *Vallabha* as 'favourite'.

'*Mutuḍa*' would seem to be the headman of a village. The reading and meaning of the word are not settled. Burnell read it as *Munyada*.[88] Dr. Fleet was of opinion that for *Munyada* as a common name no meaning could be found and that *Munyada* as a proper name was out of place.[89] Reading it as *Mutyada* he corrected it to *Amātyādi*. While editing the Ellore Prākṛt grant of Devavarman. Dr. Hultzsch read it as *Muḷuḍa* and remarked:—"The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman seem to read......*Munuḍa*: but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality the obliterated *ḷu*." But *ḷa* has always a short curve attached to right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates).[90] What is read as *ḷa* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads it as *Munuda*.[91]

The word which occurs in 4 out of the 5 grants can have only one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kanteru plates, the reascent in the *u* sign in '*nu*' is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu*, the reascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhū*. The letter can only be *tu*.[92] That the last letter of the word is *ḍa* and not *da* is shown by No. 2 of 1924–25, where the back of *ḍa* has a notch at the right and whilst that of *da* lacks it. Mutuḍa being the correct reading Dr. Hultzsch's reading in the Ellore grant must be abandoned in favour of Muduḍa, which would be the Prākṛt form of Muṭuḍa.

Though the Prākṛt and Sanskrit forms are known, they cannot be traced in dictionaries. Even so, the meaning of the word can be ascertained. *Muṇḍa* and *Mutālik* in Hindi mean 'headman'. In Telugu, *Muṭṭha* denotes subdivisions of districts. *Mutalpaṭṭa* in Malayalam denotes the office of the headman of the low caste termed *Chagon*. In the Eḍeru plates of Vijayāditya II, (799–843 A. D. according to Dr. Fleet's calculations) we have the expressions '*Kaṇḍeṛuv (ā) ḍi viṣaye va (ṇḍ) ṛupiṭe (y) u-nāma grāmasya Kūṭaka-pramukhān Kuṭumbinas-sarvvān ittham ājñāpayati*.'[93] These are similar to '*Elūre Muduḍa-pamukho gāmo (gāmeyakā) bhāṇitavvo*.'

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88. *S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14.
89. IA. Vol. V, p. 176, n.
90. *Ibid.*, pp. 159 ff., and Pl.; EI, Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff.
91. JAHRS, Vol. V, pt. i. p. 31.
92. In the Kollair plates the *t* in the syllable *tu* has no loop. But both *ta* with the loop and *ta* without the loop are used (t. ll. 5, 10).
93. EI, Vol. V, pp. 118 ff.

Dr. Fleet has shown[94] that '*Kūṭa*' has the meaning among others 'highest, the most excellent, first' derived no doubt from its meanings of any prominence, a peak or a summit of a mountain. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, '*Kūṭa*' is used in the sense of chief.[95] *Kūṭaka* is a variant of *Kūṭa*,[96] It is highly probable that the *Muduḍas* (Sanskrit *Mutuḍa*) addressed in the same manner are also heads of villages.

The Citrarathasvāmi Cult

The tutelary deity of the Vaiṅgeyakas was Citrarathasvāmi (*bhagavat Citrarathasvāmi pādānudhyātaḥ*') [97] Sanskrit Lexicons give *Citraratha* as the name of the sun, the *vāhana* of Agni and some princes. [97a] K. V. Lakshmana Rao thinks that Citrarathasvāmin is the Sun-God. While editing the Ellore plates of Devavarman, Dr. Hultzsch referred to the existence of a mound "which, on a visit to Pedda-Vēgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of *Citrarathasvāmin*, the famiiy deity of the Śālaṅkāyana Mahārājas." In the Khoh copper plate inscription of *Mahārāja* Śarvanātha,[98] a shrine of *Ādtiya* is spoken of. Ancient temples of the sun exist at Asmarka, Gwalior, Deo-Baranārk and Indore. In the *Archaeological Survey of India*[99] Cunningham has noted an image of the sun at Shahpur, two feet and ten inches high, holding a lotus in each hand, with, on each side, a small standing figure, that on the right being armed with a club. That Sun-worship could have existed along with the worship of Śiva or Viṣṇu is shown by Nirmand copper-plate grant of *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja* Samudrasena. Here the divine *Tripurāntaka* is called *Mihireśvara*. According to Dr. Fleet, the occurrence of the word '*Mihira*' (the Sun) as the first component of the God's name seems to indicate that in this particular case, some form or other of solar worship was combined with Śaiva rites. It is, therefore, possible that the Vaiṅgeyakas some

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94. EI, Vol. VII, p. 221.

95. 2, 9, 19.

96. IA, Vol, XI, p. 112, and Vol. XVI, p. 24.

In many Eastern Cāḷukya grants we have '*viṣaye sarvāneva Rāṣṭrakūṭa-pramukhān Kuṭumbina itthraṁ āñāpayati*' and '*rāṣṭrakūta*' is a techinical title meaning chief of a district.

97. That of the Eastern Gaṅgas was *Gokarṇasvāmin*, i.e., Śiva.

97a. *Peters, Dict. q. v.*

98. CII, Vol. III, No. 28.

99. Vol. XV, p. 2, Pl. xi. No. 1.

of whom had Śaiva and others Vaiṣṇava leanings were at the same time worshippers of the Sun-God also.

But on the analogy of the compounds *Gokarṇasvāmi* (i.e., the God worshipped in Gokarṇa), *Śrīparvatasvāmi* (i.e., the god worshipped in Śrīparvata in the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions), cannot *Citrarathasvāmi* mean the god worshipped in Citraratha? We do not know of any place called Citraratha.[100] Nor do the Pallava records throw any light on this question.

Religion

The sectarian leanings of different kings are different: some were *paramamāhēśvaras*, others *paramabhāgavatas*. It has heen shown that during the Sātavāhana rule Śaivism was in a flourishing condition. Some of the Ikṣvāku kings and their feudatories had Śaiva leanings. Jayavarman of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra* was a worshipper of *Maheśvara*. The earliest known king of the Vaiṅgeyaka line is a *paramamāheśvara*. Like the early Pallava kings the later Vaiṅgeyakas are styled *paramabhāgavatas*, i.e., worshippers of Viṣṇu. Perhaps Pallava influence is to be seen in this change.[101]

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100. Citraratha (M.BH. 6, 341 ; V. P. 184) is the name of a river.

101. Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is of opinion that *paramabhāgavata* need not necessarily mean 'worshipper of Viṣṇu'. He quotes Patañjali to show that followers of Śiva were also called '*Śiva bhāgavatas*'. We may add in some inscriptions '*bhagavat*' designates Śambhu (Gaḍhwa stone inscription of Chandragupta II, CII, Vol. III). *Paramabhāgavata* of the contemporary Pallava inscriptions cannot mean 'worshipper of Bhagavat Śiva' for at least one among them would in that case have styled himself *paramamāheśvara*. What proves conclusively that *paramabhāgavata* of our inscriptions means 'a worshipper of Viṣṇu' is No. 38 in CII. Vol. III, in which Dharasena I and his younger brother Droṇasiṁha are styled *paramamāheśvaras*, while their younger brother Dhruva II is called a *paramabhāgavata*. The Peddavegi plates of Nandivarman II (a *paramabhāgavata*) mention grant of lands to a Viṣṇugṛhasvāmin, i.e., the god inhabiting Viṣṇugṛha (Viṣṇu).

Chapter X

THE KANDARAS

Dynastic Appellation

King of this dynasty of whom three are known are said to have belonged to the 'Ānanda *gotra*.'[1] According to Dr. Hultzsch they may be designated as 'kings of the family of the Ānanda.'[2] Other scholars have labelled them simply as "the Ānandas" or "the Ānanda kings of Guntur." We may once more emphasise that confusion between *gotra* and dynastic names must be avoided. The expression '*Kandara-nṛpatikula-samudbhūta*,'[3] applied to Attivarman, a distant successor of Kandara, shows that the latter was the first king of the dynasty who gave his name to it.[4] Hence these kings had better be styled 'the Kandaras.'

Kandara : Meaning

Dr. Fleet considered 'Kandara' a variation of Kṛṣṇa.[5] The Prākṛt forms of Kṛṣṇa are Kaṇha (M; AMg; JM; S) and Kasana (M and S) and Kasina (AMg; J.M). The Dravidian form is Kaṇṇa. The variations of Kṛṣṇa found in the Raṭṭa and Yādava records are Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kandhara and Kandhāra.[6] An argument against Dr. Fleet's view is that Kandara nowhere occurs as a variation of Kṛṣṇa. In a Rāṣṭrakūṭa record from Kyāsanūr in the Hāngāl Taluq of the Dharwar District, Lionel Barnett has read 'Kandara-vallabha' and equated it with 'Kannara-vallabha' of the other Rāṣṭrakūṭa records, some of which are published in the same volume.[7] In these records there is very little difference between

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1. (a) *Ānanda-karānanda-maharṣi-ma(hā)gotra-viyadamala-sakala-tu(hi) nakiraṇasya . . . . Kandarājasya . . . .,'* 155 of 1899.
   (b) *Ā(na)nda-sa gotrasya . . , . Dāmodaravarmaṇo* '—EI, Vol. XVII, p. 329, t. ll. 2 and 3.
   (c) '*Ānanda-maharṣivaṁśa-samudbhūtena . . . . rajñā Attivarmmaṇā* ', IA, Vol. IX, pp. 102 and 103, t. ll. 1 and 5.
2. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 328.
3. The Gōraṇṭla Plates, t . ll. 2 and 3.
4. Ikṣvāku, Pallava; and Gupta are some of the kings who gave their names to their dynasties.
5. IA, Vol. IX, p. 103, n. 30 and BG, Vol. I, Part II, p. 334.
6. BG., *ibid.*, p. 526.
7. EI, Vol. XVI, p. 283.

nna and *nda*. Considering the fact that all the records including the Kyāsanūr ones give 'Kannara-vallabha' only, what is read as 'Kandara-vallabha' is probably 'Kannara-vallabha.'

'Kanda' is a Prākṛt and 'Kandan' a Dravidian form of Skanda.[8] 'Kanda' might have become 'Kandara' much in the same way as 'Kaṇha' became 'Kanhara.' A fine Śiva temple at Khajuraho erected during the tenth century is called Kandarīya Mahādeo. Kings Kandara and Attivarman were worshippers of Śiva. An objection to this view is that in all the Sātavāhana, early Pallava and Kandara records, the Prākṛt form is Khaṁda.

In Sanskrit and Prākṛt 'Kandara' means 'cave' 'elephant goad.' As some kings style themselves 'elephant goad to their enemies,' Sanskrit or Prākṛt 'Kandara' as a name is not improbable.

King Kandara: His Date

The founder of the dynasty was Kandara. Since the Allahabad posthumous pillar inscription which speaks of Samudragupta's encounter with the Vaiṅgeyaka Hastivarman and Kāñceyaka Viṣṇugopa, does not mention king Kandara, whose kingdom lay between the Vaiṅgeyaka and Pallava kingdoms, it may be inferred that the Kandaras rose to power after his southern campaign. Palaeography lends support to this view.

For the determination of Kandara's date, the palaeography of the Chezarla inscription of his grandson supplies positive evidence. On the back of the slab bearing this inscription there is record of Mahendravikrama or Mahendravarman I.[9] To all seeming the writing of the two inscriptions is almost contemporaneous. The letters exhibit close agreement even in some details; but a careful examination reveals certain developed forms in Mahendravikrama's inscription. Only one *pa* and a few *ha*-s of the record of Kandara's grandson reveal notches at the bottom while all the *pa*-s and *ha*-s of the other have notches. The more or less angular *la* with the notch at the bottom in *Mahārāja* Mahendravikrama's inscription is to be found only in a few places in the other; and in Chezarla we

8. *Tam. Lexicon*, S. V. Kandan.

9. In the *Mattavilāsa Prahasana*, p. 3, the son of Siṁhaviṣṇu (i.e., Mahendravarman) is referred to as Mahendravikrama. Mahendravarman II mentioned only by the Kūram plates is not so known. The confusion between the Pallava Mahendravikrama of the Chezarla inscription, and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Vikramendravarman of the Rāmatīrtham plates which some scholars have made must be avoided; the Mahendravikarama of the Chezarla inscription belongs to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*.

find also the triangular *va* of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions and the British Museum plates of Cārudevi. We may then postulate an interval of thirty to thirty-five years between the two inscriptions. Since Mahendravikrama's reign would fall in the first decades of the seventh century, the Chezarla inscription of king Kandara's grandson may be assigned to the third quarter and king Kandara to the first quarter of the sixth century.[10]

In the *Avantisundarīkathā* of which we have, thanks to the efforts of Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi, a fuller text than before, it is said that the wife of *Kandareśa* (lord of Kandara) who was wounded in battle (with the Pallavas evidently) sent a number of war elephants to a Pallava King, there called a Magadha king.

Rise of the Dynasty

It is now possible to picture to ourselves the circumstances favouring the rise of the dynasty. The Pallavas who were in possession of parts of the Guntur District in the reign of Siṁhavarman in the early part of the fifth century were later on hard pressed by the Kadambas in the south-west and Cōḷas in the south. The bitter rivalry between the Pallavas and the Kadambas under Mayūraśarman continued long. Mṛgeśavarman, a successor of Kākusthavarman, was 'a destroying fire to the Pallavas,'[11] and Ravivarman uprooted Caṇḍadaṇḍa, lord of Kāñcī. The Aṇaji inscription[12] states that Kṛṣṇavarman I's armies were totally defeated in the battle with those of a Pallava king. From the fact that the early Pallava Charters are issued from Palakkaḍa and Daśanapura, and from the fact that Kāñcī is mentioned only in the Cendalūr inscription of Kumāraviṣṇu scholars like Venkayya have concluded a Cola occupation of *Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam.*[13] In the country just north of the Kṛṣṇā,, the Vaiṅgeyaka power had yielded or was yielding place to the dynasty of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. Kandara took advantage of this political turmoil to found a new dynasty. The Viṣṇukuṇḍin and the Pallava perhaps saw in the new kingdom a buffer state and so connived at the *coup*. But the Kandara was too near the Pallava to avoid conflicts later on.[14] One wonders wheather the monkey

10. It is not possible to agree with the view expressed in the ARE, 1919–20, p. 95, that "by its early type of Pallava-Grantha character alone the inscription must be referred to about the third century A.D." The Report assigns Dāmodaravarman to the fourth century A.D.
11. IA, Vol. VI, p. 25.
12. EC, Vol. XI, Dg. 161.
13. IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 284 n.
14. *Vide Supra.*

device on the banners of Kandara and of the Kadambas may be taken to prove an alliance between them.[15]

Kandara set about strengthening his dynasty by means of a Pallava matrimonial alliance. The Chezarla inscription of Kandara's grandson who bears the titles of '*Satsabhāmalla*' and '(*Raṇa*) *mahāmalla*',[16] introduces us to his father who bears the title of '*Pṛthivīyuvarāja*'[17] and his mother, a daughter of king Kandara of the Ānanda *gotra.*

In the Chezarla inscription of his grandson, Kandara is said to have been lord of two provinces or kingdoms and of the best city Kandarapura. He is said to have engaged in sharp battles with the Āndhras near the banks or the river Kṛṣṇā and brought to about the widowhood of many an Āndhra woman. His enemy was perhaps the Viṣṇukuṇḍin. Like the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman II, he bears the titled 'lord of the *Tirūṭaparvaia*'[19] Dr. Hultzsch's view that *Trikūṭa* (*Trirasmi* of the Nāsik inscription) in Bombay and Malaya (in the western Ghāṭs), of which Mādhavavarman claims to be lord, were at a safe distance from his dominions, must it would appear, be abandoned. Any three-peaked hill might have been called

15. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 26.
16. Appendix, ll. 30, 33-4.
17. I owe the suggestion that *Yuvarājaḥ* in this inscription is the genitive singular of *Yuvarāṭ* to Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. While editing the Kopparam plates of Pulakēśin II, Dr. Hulzsch wrongly considers *Pṛithivīduvarājaḥ* as in the nominative singular. As the sense of the passage requires a genetive singular, he corrects it into *Pṛthivīduvarājasya.*

   The reasons for calling this a Pallava inscription are the following :— The birudas '*Satsabhāmalla*' and '(*Raṇa*)*mahāmalla*' are essentially Pallava. Till the advent of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the office of *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* was essentially a Pallava institution on this side of South India. In a Dharmarājaratha inscription we have similar *birudas* e.g., *Bhuvanabhājanaḥ* and *Pṛithivisāra* (EI, Vol. X, pp. 5, 6; Nos. 1, 3, 7 etc.). The practice of mentioning the *birudas* to the exclusion of personal names would also seem to be a Pallava practice. True *Pṛthivīyuvarāja* and *Pṛthivīvallabha-Yuvarāja* are titles borne by Viṣṇuvardhana in the Kopparam and Satāra grants respectively (IA, Vol. XIX, p. 309). *Pṛthivīduvarāja* is according to Dr. Hultzsch a form of *Pṛithiyuvarāja* (EI, Vol. XVIII, p. 258). And *birudas* into which '*Raṇa*' enters are also born by Kīrttivarman I, and Maṅgaleśa (BG, Vol. I, ii, pp. 345-7). But the Chezarla inscription cannot be brought to the beginning of the seventh century AD.
18. Could this mean that king Kandara did not belong to the Āndhra tribe? '*Prathitān-Pṛthivīyuvarājaḥ*' applied to Kandāra's son-in-law might be corrected into '*Prathitāndhra-Pṛthivīyuvarājaḥ*'.
19. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 388, t. l. 5.

Trikūṭaparvata.[20] But the association of *Malaya* with it forces us to look for both in the west. A Vākāṭaka inscription[20a] gives us the clue. Verse 18 in it records that Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kosala, Trikūṭā, Lāṭa and Āndhra were subjugated by one of the later Vākaṭakas. At that time the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were an Āndhra power. Such defeats would have been repaid and these victories would have provided the Viṣṇukuṇḍins the occasion for taking over the Vākāṭaka titles and glories.

Extent of his kingdom

The extent of Kandara's kingdōm is not altogether easy of determination. Dhānyakaṭaka was in possession of his son-in-law, a Pallava. Chezarla, where the inscription of Kandara's grandson (by his daughter) and of Mahendravarman I are found, is in the Narasaraopet taluq of the Guntur District. Dāmodaravarman's grant comes from the Ongole taluk[21] and Attivarman's from the Guntur taluq. The kingdom of Kandara would, therefore, seem to have comprised at the most the Guntur, Tenali and Ongole taluqs of the Guntur District.

Dāmodaravarman: His place in the Kandara genealogy

Dāmodaravarman came after king Kandara, for the Maṭṭepāḍ grant of the former is issued from 'Kandarapura' and the Chezarla inscription of Kandara's grandson, which refers to Kandara as 'the lord of the best of cities, Kandarapura' makes it certain that Kandara gave his name to the capital.[22] As Dāmodaravarman's father is credited with many *Gosahasra* and *Hiraṇyagarbha mahādānas,* and as Kandara is not credited with them either in the inscription of his grandson, where he is extolled in a lengthy passage, or in the inscription of his distant successor, Attivarman, Dāmodaravarman could not have been a son of king Kandara.

His date

Since the grant of Dāmodaravarman gives us neither dates nor names and facts tending to establish definite synchronisms with

20. CII, Vol. III, p. 9 n, (Introduction).

20a. ASWI, Vol. IV, pp. 124 ff.

21. Kaṁgūra mentioned in the grant, which Dr. Hultzsch was unable to identify, may be identified with Kandulūru, six miles to the east of Maṭṭepāḍ, the findspot of the grant.

22. Other instances of kings giving their names to their capitals are, 'Pravarapura' from which Pravarasena II's edict is addressed, Kandharapura, the city of Kṛṣṇa-Kandhāra. etc. (CII, Vol. III, p. 236 and BG, I pt. ii, p. 556).

kings whose dates are known, palaeography is our only guide in the determination of his date. Dr. Hultzsch has only remarked that the plphabet is of an early southern type.[23] We can say that it resembles the alphabets of the later Vaṁgeyaka grants and of the Pīkira and Māṅgaḷūr grants of Siṁhavarman. Since Pīkira is said to have been included in the Muṇḍarāṣṭra which has to be sought for in the Nellore District[24] and since Maṭṭepāḍ, the findspot of Dāmodaravarman's grant, is the Ongole taluq, once part of the Nellore District, a comparison between the alphabet of the Pīkira and Maṭṭepāḍ grants is more apt. Striking is the resemblance between the *la*, *va*, *ya*, *ba*, *na*, *da*, and *tu* of the two grants. The close resemblance between the *ja*, *bha*, *dbha* and *li* of the Maṭṭepāḍ and Maṅgaḷūr grants is also noteworthy. The thick dots or nail heads at the top of letters, especially over *ga*, a feature common to the two Pallava grants under reference, or to be found in the first few lines of the Maṭṭepāḍ grant. The *Upadhmānīya* occurs in all the grants.[25] it may be argued that the Maṭṭepāḍ *śa* and *ṣa* differ from the Pīkira ones as they have bars instead of curves. But the former are not quite unknown to the Pallava grants of the same period.[26] The Maṭṭepāḍ numerieal symbols for 1 and 2 are more primitive than those in the two Pallava grants, but as two symbols for one are used in the Maṭṭepāḍ grant, and as the Māṅgaḷūr symbol for four is slightly different from the Pīkira one, much reliance cannot be placed on numerical symbols; nor can archaic forms be the main factor in the determination of dates. Śaka 380 of the colophon of the Jaina work *Lokavibhāga* would seem to correspond to the twenty-second regnal year of Siṁhavarman, king of Kāñcī, mentioned in the text. According to Krishna Sastri the astronomical details given in the Oṁgōḍu grant of Siṁhavarman II,[27] do not fit into this date, and *Siṁhavarman of Jaina work* must be Siṁhavarman I; and the Pīkīra grant belongs to Siṁhavarman II. On these pieces of evidence, Dāmodaravarman would

23. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 327.

24. Muṇḍarāṣṭra is identical with *Muṇḍainaḍu of some Nellore inscriptions* (N. 19. 31 and 121) and Kaṇḍukūra which, according to the Uruvupalli grant, was included in the Muṇḍarāṣṭra is perhaps identical with Kandukūr (IA, Vol. XXXVII, p. 283, n).

25. Dr. Hultzsch has not noted the fact that in the Maṭṭepāḍ grant as in the Pīkira and Māṅgaḷūr grants, final *m* is once represented by small *m* (EI, Vol. XVII, Pl. v. t. l. 15).

26. Māṅgaḷūr grant, IA. Vol. V, pp. 154 ff, Pl. v-b, l. 3; vi-a; ll. 1 and 3,

27. EI, Vol. XV. pp. 246 ff.

have to be assigned to the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. But as he was not the son and immediate successor of Kandara, he cannot be placed earlier than 550 A.D.

Dr. Hultzsch assigns Dāmodaravarman to a period earlier than that of Attivarman partly on the strength of the Prākṛt portion of the former's grant.[28] D. C. Sircar rejoins, Attivarman is a Dravidian form of Hastivarman through the Prākṛt form Hatthivarman.[29] These arguments would compel us to place Dāmodaravarman's inscription sometime before the Pallava Sanskrit charters of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D, which, for reasons stated above, would be impossible. Instances of Prākṛt forms lingering in the records of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., can be cited.[30] The Buddhist leanings of the king can also explain this mixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛt.

Attivarman

According to D. C. Sircar, Attivarman[31] is the father of Dāmodaravarman.[32] The only source of this assertion is the expression '*Aneka - go - sahasra - aneka - hiraṇyagarbhodbhavodbhavasya*'[33] applied to the latter in his grant. He has rightly pointed out that

28. "It may be inferred from the Prākṛt forms used that it could not be far away in point of time from the Prākṛt plates of the early Pallava kings of the third or fourth centuries of the Christian era". ARE, 1919–20, p. 75. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

29. *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta,* Vol. XXVI, p. 48.

30. According to D. C. Sircar, Dr. Hultzsch's statement that the inscriptions is partly in Prākṛt is a misrepresentation.' But Dr. Hultzsch correctly states the position when he says that the personal and most of the *gotra* names of donees are in Prākṛt and that the Prākṛt '*saṁvaccharaṁ*' occurs in the Sanskrit portion while the Sanskrit *aṁśo* occurs in the Prākṛt portion. For Prākṛt forms lingering is Sanskrit records see Viṣṇukuṇḍin records generally.

31. Dr. Hultzsch looks upon Attivarman as a Prākṛt or Dravidian form of Hastivarman. Since in Prākṛt, the initial *ha* is nowhere softened into *a*, Attivarman cannot be another form of Hatthivarman. Neither in Telugu nor in Canarese can '*Atti*' meaning 'elephant' be found. That '*Atti*' is sometimes a Dravidian form of '*Hasti*' is made certain by the Shōlinghar inscription of Parāntaka (EI, Vol. IV, pp. 221 ff.) where the Western Gaṅga Pṛthivipati II is called Hastimalla (the name of the elephant of Indra) in the Sanskrit portion, and Attimallan in the Tamil portion. Even now '*Atti*' in Tamil means 'elephant'. For names and surnames into the composition of which '*Atti*' enters, see also BG. I, ii, p. 507; SII, Vol. III, No. 60, p. 121; Vol. I No. 74, p, 105; EI, Vol XVI, p. 37; EI, Vol. VII, pp. 195, 196.

32. *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

33. T. ll. 2, 3.

Dr. Hultzsch's translation of this as well as the expressions '*Aprameya-Hiraṇyagarbhaprasavena*'[34], '*Hiraṇyagarbhaprasūta*'[35], and '*Hiraṇyagarbhasambhūta*'[36] as 'producer of many Hiraṇyagarbhas' is defective, as the past participles *prasūta* and *sambhūta* can enter into *Pañcamī Tatpuruṣa* and not *Ṣaṣṭhī Tatpuruṣa* compounds. He has correctly translated them as 'born of the *Hiraṇyagarbha.*' The theory underlying the performance of the *Hiraṇyagarbha mahādāna* is that the performer is born of the golden womb, etc.—perhaps in the same way as Brahmā.[37]

But where he brings this translation to bear upon the problem of Kandara genealogy one cannot agree with him. According to him it is not 'quite impossible' that Attivaraman who is credited with the performance of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* in the Gōraṇṭla plates is the father of Dāmodravarman who is said to have been 'born of one born of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and a performer of the *Gosahasra.*' Hc dismisses the palaeographical difficulty cheaply when he makes the gratuitous assumption that the difference in time between the Maṭṭepāḍ and Gōraṇṭla plates is so short, and that it is difficult to determine which of them is the earlier.

(a) The *grantha* alphabet of the Gōraṇṭla plates is decidedly later than that of the Maṭṭepāḍ grant, because in them the *ra*, *ka*

34. The Gōraṇṭla inscription IA, Vol. IX, p. 102, t. l. 3.

35. Īpūr and Polamāru grants EI, Vol. XVII, pp. 334 ff,. and JAHRS, Vol. VI, Part i, pp. 17 ff.

36. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription IA, Vol. XIX, pp. 7 ff.

37. The *Hiraṇyagarbha* jar is of the shape of a lotus: it is provided with a pedestal, golden stalk of lotus and a golden thread round its navel.

During the performance of the *mahādāna* the performer enters the precints of the alter where the *Hiraṇyagarbha* is placed, holding the images of Dharmarāja and Brahmā in both hands, and takes five deep breaths after placing his head between his ankles. The Brahmans versed in the *Vedas* perform the *Garbhādāna*, *Puṁsavana* and *Sīmanta* ceremonies of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and latet on the rites following the birth of a child. Finally the performer addresses Viṣṇu thus :—

"O, the best among gods, before I came out of my mother's womb,
Now that I am born of your womb, mine is a *divyadeha.*"

Moreover, *udbhava* (adj.) which occurs in the expression '*Aneka-Hiraṇyagarbhodbhavodbhavasya*' is mainly used in the sense of 'birth' or 'coming from'—e.g. *Rāṣṭrakūṭavaṁśodbhava*, *Śailodbhava*, etc. As has been pointed out cy Sircar, '*Hiraṇyagarbhodbhavodbhavasya*' in the sense of 'performer of *Hiraṇyagarbha*' is awkward in a prose composition and Buddhist Dāmodaravarman would not have performed Brahmanical rites like '*Gosahasra*' and '*Hiraṇyagarbha.*'

and the subscribed *u* consist of two vertical lines of nearly equal length;[38] in the Pīkira, Maṅgaḷūr and Uruvapalli grants and even in the Chezarla inscription of Mahendravarman I, it is considerably shorter. In the Kailāsanātha inscriptions the reascent is to the full length of the vertical.

(b) *Ja* with the upper arm converted into a loop is on the line of development to the Kūram *ja* which exhibits the head of the modern Tamiḻ *ja*. The Chezarla inscription has the archaic *ja*.

(c) The cursive *ha* and *pa* with the notch at the bottom occur in the *Dharmarājaratha* inscription. The Chezarla *ha* and *pa* with modest notches are earlier.

(d) The Gōraṇṭla *a* with a hook at the end of the lower arm is like the *Kailāsanātha a* and is more developed than that of Mahendravarman's inscriptions. But the treatment of the vertical in *Kailāsanātha a* stamps it as later than the Gōraṇṭla *a*.[39]

(e) The hook at the right end of the body curve of the Gōraṇṭla *da* is absent in *Dharmarājaratha*, but present in the *Kailāsanātha da*. The latter is, however, more developed than the Gōraṇṭla one.

(f) *bha* with two equal curves resembles the *Dharmarājaratha bha*.

(g) The *Kailāsanātha na* is more cursive and developed than the Gōraṇṭla *na*.

(h) The Gōraṇṭla *ṇa* is more cursive than the *Dharmarājaratha ṇa*. The development of *ṇa* is from Siṁhavarman's inscription where it has a long stem to *Dharmarājaratha* and Chezarla forms and then on to that of the Gōraṇṭla inscription where it is very short.

According to Bühler,[40] the Gōraṇṭla alphabet went out of use before the date of the Kūram plates of Narasiṁhavarma's grand-

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38. The reasent in *r* l. 3 (*paricārena*) and in *u* in the syllable *ju* l. 6, is to the full length of the vertical.

Dr. Fleet compared the alphabet of the grant with that of the fragmentary inscription at Bādāmi incised according to his researches, by Pallava Narasimhavarman I during his expedition against the Cāḷukya Pulakeśin II. However, only the notched *pa, ha, ma, la* and *va* exhibit any resemblance to the letters of the Gōraṇṭla plates.

39. Bühler's Tables. VII, Vol. XXIII, and IA, Vol. IX, pp. 102 ff., Plate 1; t. ll. 1, 2, etc.

40. *Ind. Pal.* IA, Vol. XXXIII, App. p. 70.

son Parameśvaravarman, which exhibit letters of a much different type. It is thus seen that in many respects, the Gōraṇṭla alphabet stands between the Chezarla and *Dharmarājaratha* writing on the one hand and the *Kailāsanātha* writing on the other. Dr. Hultzsch has pointed out that the majority of the epigraphs on the monolith now styled *Dharmarājaratha* resemble those of Mahendravāḍi and Śīyamaṅgalam, assigned by him to Mahendravarman I[41] (first quarter of the seventh century). The earliest date for Attivarman would, therefore, be the second quarter of the seventh century.

Sircar's assumption that only one prince in the line could have performed the Hiraṇyagarbha *Mahādāna* enjoined by the Sacred Books on kings and wealthy men of the realm, is a gratuitous one. In the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣa, Harihara, son of Bukka, is said to have performed the 16 *mahādānas*.[42] In the Udayaṁbākam grant of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya[43] (Ś. 1450) both Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and his father are credited with the *ṣoḍasa mahādānas*. In the Vellaṅguḍi plates of Venkaṭapati Deva Mahārāya I (Ś. 1520),[44] both Vīra-Bhūpati and his son Kṛṣṇa-Bhūpati are credited with the same. Nor can the numbering of both sides of the Maṭṭepāḍ plates attest the posteriority of Dāmodaravarman to Attivarman. The plates of Devavarman and Nandivarman are numbered in the Maṭṭepāḍ fashion, whilst those of Nandivarman II and Skandavarman are numbered by plates. Yet the latter came after the former.

It is thus seen that Attivarman's reign falls in the second and third quarters of the seventh century. Dāmodaravarman who on palaeographical grounds has to be ascribed to the middle of the sixth century could not have been a successor of Attivarman.

His Grant

Attivarman's Gōraṇṭla plates, which bear no date, record the grant of the village of Āntukkūra (according to Dr. Hultzsch probably Gani Ātukūru to the west of Bezwada) and the grant of land called 'Aṣṭāśatapaṭṭi'[45] in the village of Tānthikontha or Tānṛikonṛa (which according to Dr. Hultzsch is the modern Tāḍikoṇḍa, ten miles to the north of Guntur and to the south of the Kṛṣṇā as

41. EI, Vol. IV, p. 152, and Vol. VI, p. 320.

42. EI, Vol XV, p. 24.

43. EI, Vol. XIV, pp. 171–72.

44. EI, Vol. XIV, p. 298 ff,

45. '*Tānthikontha* (or Tānṛikonṛa) *grāme caturddiśaṁ-aṣṭaśatapatti kṣetrān*'; IA, Vol. IX, p. 103. It may mean 108 *paṭṭis*.

stated in the inscription itself)[47] to a Brahman named Koṭṭiśarman who was versed in *Ṛg*, *Yajus* and *Sāma Vedas* and the *Āpastaṁba Sūtra.*

Most of the epithets applied to Attivarman in his grant would seem to be conventional. Such are, '*anuparata-dharmma-kriyā-para*', '*sura-guru sadṛśa-buddhiḥ*' '*sundara-sujāta-peśala-jana paricāra.*' But epithets like '*Hiraṇyagarbhaprasava,*' '*pratāpo-panata-sakala-sāmanta-maṇḍala*', and '*samyak-prajā-pālanopārj-jitakirtti*' would seem to have facts behind them.

Attivarman's status

Whilst Dāmodaravarman and the Pallava kings of the period bear the tittle of *Mahārāja,* Attivarman is styled *Rājan.* Could this fact indicate a feudatory position? We know that a part of the Guntur district was under Pallava rule in the time of Kandara and Attivarman. But the expression *pratāpopanata-sakala-sāmanta-maṇḍala* applied to Attivarman, and the fact that Mahendravarman I is styled *rājan* in some inscriptions[47] and also the absence of any evidence of Pallava rule over the Guntur taluq,[48] make it highly probable that Attivarman was an independent monarch.[49]

Religion and Social Life

The available grants of the Kandaras do not give us any direct insight into the administrative organisation. It may be sur-

46. Dr. Fleet read it as Tānthikontha and Dr. Hultzsch's reading is not as certain as it has been assumed. In the Īpūr and Chikkulla plates *ra* has two cross strokes, In the Peddavēgi plates of the Eastern Calukya Jayasiṁha. I, (EI, Vol. XIX, p. 261) and the Koṇḍaṇagūru plates of Indravarman, (EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1. ff,) letters similar to that under reference occur. In the former it differs from the next letter ṛa in so far as it has not the latter's notches. The word has been read as 'Kantheṛuvāṭi' which has been identified with the Kaṇḍeṛu of the Eastern Cāḷukya inscriptions. In the latter grant the subscript ṛ*a* has assumed its modern form, and is different from the letter above, though Dr. Hultzsch read them as ṛr*a*. No doubt in all these grants the subscript *tha* is open to the right and *tha* has a dot in the middle. Even so, in a grant of the Eastern Cāḷukya Viṣṇuvardhana IV or V (IA, Vol. XIII, p. 186) and perhaps in the Peddavēgi plates of Jayasiṁha I, *tha* with the short stroke occurs.

47. EI, Vol. VI, p. 320, t. ll. 1 and 2.

48. Chezarla where the inscription of Mahendravarman exists is in the Narasāraopet taluq of the Guntur District.

49. Attivarman claims to be as powerful as Mahendra *(Mahendrasamavikramena).* Is there a veiled reference to Mahendravikrama or Mahendravarman I (EI, Vol. IV, p. 153)?

mised that the traditions of the past were continued. Pallava influence might have played its part. However, we know something about the religion of these kings and their subjects. Unlike the Pallavas with whom they were matrimonially connected and who were '*paramabhāgavatas*,' the Kandara kings, with the exception of Dāmodaravarman, were *protégés* of Śambhu Śiva.[50] Their family deity was the God in the Vaṁkeśvara temple.[51] Thus the Kandaras continued the Śaiva traditions of the Ikṣvākus, the kings of the Bṛhatphalāyana *gotra* and some of the Vaiṅgeyakas. If the names of donees can be relied upon as an index to the state of prevailing religions, Śaivism would seem to have had a strong hold over the Kandara kingdom.[52]

But Buddhism was too firmly rooted in the land of the Bhaṭṭiprōlu, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa and Ghaṇṭaśālā *stūpas* for monasteries to be completely eradicated even by four centuries of Brahmanical rule. Dāmodaravarman was a Buddhist (*Samyaksambuddhasya-pādānudhyātah*), and the Prākṛt of his grant might be an evidence of his Hīnayānist leanings. In his day the tolertion which the Brahmanical Sātavāhana and Ikṣvāku kings had shown towards Buddhism was returned by Buddhism to Brahmanism. Like Brahmanical kings, Dāmodaravarman makes grants of lands to Brahmans.

Scattered epigraphic and literary evidence attests the lingering of Buddhism in the *Āndhradēsa* for a long time after it ceased to be the dominant religion. Amaravātī has given us not only Buddhist inscriptions of the third and fourth centuries A.D,[53] but also an inscription in early Telugu characters from which we learn that a Siṁhavarman, son of Nandivarman, on his return from an expedition, came to Dhānyakaṭaka and became a lay worshipper of the Buddha and made donations.[54] An inscription on the base of a pillar bearing the sculpture of a standing figure of the Buddha, in

50. *Śambhoś-caraṇa-kamala-rajaḥ-pavitrīkṛtā*, IA, Vol. IX, the Goraṇṭla plates.

51. The *anusvāra* over *va* is clear. Dr. Fleet was not sure of it (IA, Vol. IX, p. 103, n.) Only, as in other places, in the same inscription (ll. 4, 6, etc.) it is not exactly over the letter, but slightly to the right of it.

52. Names like 'Ruddajja', 'Nandijja', 'Khandajja', 'Kumarajja' and 'Devajja.'

53. ASSI, Vol. I, p. 106, No. 51 and Pl. LXI, No. 4; for an unpublished Amarāvatī inscription of the third century A.D., see Pl. III.

54. SII, Vol. I. No. 32.

Rāmareḍḍipalle in the Nandigāma taluq, Kṛṣṇā District, mentions the setting up of an image of the Buddha by the *śramaṇaka* Rāhula, the disciple of *Ācārya* (Mā) deva who was again the disciple of *Ācārya* Maudgalyāyana.[55] According to Hiuen-Tsang, though Buddhism was on the wane, there were in the *Veṅgideśa* twenty and odd monasteries with three thousand brethren.[56] In the kingdom of T'e-na-ka-che-ka (Dhānyakaṭaka) there was a crowd of Buddhist monasteries but most of them deserted, about twenty being in use with one thousand brethren mostly adherents of the Mahāsāṅghika system.[57] The play entitled '*Mattavilāsa Prahasana*' shows that Buddhist *bhikkhus* and their *vihāras* and *caityas* existed in Kāñcī in the seventh century, whatever might have been the demoralisation that had set in.

About the social life of the period we do not know anything except that the Brahmanical civilisation had once more gained ground. A point deserving mention here is the 'ārya' ending in the names of the donees of the Maṭṭepāḍ grant. Such name endings are found only in grants coming from the territory immediately south of the Kṛṣṇā (the Koṇḍamuḍi, the Mayidavōlu, the Hīra-Haḍagaḷḷi, the Kanteru (Nandivarman I) and the Maṭṭepāḍ grants. 'Ārya' (venerable) as an honorific prefix to the names of Buddhist or Jain teachers and saints occurs in inscriptions all over India. It is used as an honorific title in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela.[58] 'Ārya' as initial part of personal names occurs in a Junnar inscription[59] (Ayama) and in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription[60] (Ayakoṭusiri and Ayasiri, names of royal ladies). The celebrated disciple of Nāgājuna, who spent a great part of his life in the *Āndhradeśa*, is Āryadeva.[61] But the earliest inscription to exhibit names with 'ārya' ending is the Koṇḍamuḍi grant of Jayavarman, where all donees have names ending in 'aja'. The same

55. 218 of 1926–27.

56. Watters '*On Yuan Chwang*', ii. p. 210.

57. *Ibid.*, pp. 214–215.

58. 'Aira mahārāja Khāravela'; an Aya-Sakasathi is mentioned in a Bhaṭṭiprōlu inscription as the name of a group (*goṣṭhī*).

59. ASWI, Vol. IV, p. 103, No. 11.

60. Ins. L. EI, Vol. XXI.

61. The epigraph on a relic pot from the Guntur District, which has been ably read and interpreted by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (JOR, IX–13, 96, ff.) states that it contains the ashes of Āyamaṇi identified by the Professor with Āryadeva.

is the case with the Mayidavōlu and Maṭṭepāḍ grants.[62] 'Ajja' is another form of Prākṛt ' ayya ' (Sanskrit ārya).[63] 'Ārya' started as an honorific prefix and became a name ending much in the same way as ' siri.'[64]

APPENDIX B

155 of 1899

1. Srī siddiśvarāya
2. Kālissara sāravīraketoḥ sva śakti śātita
3. śātrava kari vara ghaṭa samkaṭa Dhānyakaṭa raṇa
4. saptakoṭeḥ prathitān (dhra*) pṛthivīyuvarājaḥ ā-
5. nanda karānanda maharṣi mahāgotra viyadamala-
6. sakala tu (hi) na kiraṇasya samavagāḍhāndhrasundarī
7. candanāñjanālakta lokāmalā parimoṣaṇa pa-
8. ricaya kṛtāparādha vai (pu) lya sitetarabe (ṇṇā)
9. nāthasya Trikūṭaparvvata pate (r*) golāngūla vija-
10. yaketanasya hallisaka paṭu paṭaha rava s (a) la (?)
11. ma (tya *or* sya) ṇadyogasya Kandara-puravara-janapada-dvitayā-
12. dhipateḥ Kandararājasya priyasutāyāmavanitalā-
13. ntava (t)yām mahādevyām sañjātas-satguros-tasyāspa (n)da-
14. madhi (ṣthe)ya guṇamadhitiṣṭhannalamkurvā (ṇaḥ) sujātaḥ
15. sujanamanaḥ śravaṇasukhacarita-bhājano janodita
16. sakalayaśoviśeṣah roṣasthira vṛtta-jānu-karaḥ
17. Karibhala viśasta śātrava śarīra sakalamālāmaṇḍa-
18. ṇa bhāvyamāna pareta kaṇṭaguṇo guṇonnata virodhi
19. parajan (au)gha nivāraṇō vāraṇottamabalo balonnatasya-
20. . . . .(ma) kusumake (tu) rabalājana manaḥ pramathana-paṭura-
21. . .gu. . . .rabhilaṣita phalapradānakṛtamti-rahimagi-
22. ririvā. .vilanghanīya mahima-gurus-salila nidhira

62. Ajja of the Hira-Haḍagaḷḷi and Maṭṭepāḍ grants is the etymological spelling of the Pandit; 'aja' is the cave inscription form of 'ajja.'

63. Pischel. *op. cit.*, Secc. 236 and 252.

64. It is used as a prefix in '*Rāya Simuka Sātavāhana sirimato*' (Nāṇeghāṭ relievo figure inscription) and as a part of names in 'Vedisiri' 'Hakusiri' 'Balasiri' (Nāsik No. 2) 'Bodhisiri,' 'Bapisiri' etc. (Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions).

23. gādha gāmbhīrya dhairyaślāghī sagaruḍa-muraripu-sanā-thaśāsanaḥ
24. paramasamṛddha pallījanapadādhipati-raribala-jayamatiḥ
25. sama (ra*) samaya samunnata gṛddharādhyāsita-ketanaḥ pratinṛ-
26. pa vanitāśrutipathā śrotrābharaṇa gauravavai phalya..
27. ..pasāmu. .mu. . .ta (ra) vārināsaghoṣaṇassamarapaṭu-
28. paṭahara(va*) śravaṇā dviguṇa maghaguṇa guṇa-sāgaraska-
29. ....(vijaya) sajayānuraktānurāga gururabhiṣṭuta
30. guṇavāsassakalakalā viśārada sa(t)sabhāmallaḥ
31. (svaku)la salila nidhi samabhivarddhana tuhinakaranara tilaka
32. ...duṣṭanigrahograviṣāghātaḥ śiṣṭaparipālana
33. ...prasanna nṛpavara guṇatulya kāntiḥ śrīmān śri (ra-
34. na) mahā (mallaḥ) sakta. . .tva (to) nvayasya pṛthujaya-balā-
35. yurārogyābhilaṣitārtha siddhaye punaratratīrtha-
36. ...rvvannata samamahimānasya. . .bhila
37. ...bahūni bahu devatāyatanāni sthira
38. ...ardhātsarvaparihāra sampa. . .grāmā
39. ...maya. .ra. . .vṛṣabhagaṇa
40. .....saklasādhanānam godha
41. .....saha.....
42. .....pārvatīpara. . . .ru
43. ....manekavi. . . .nu
44. ....rājitarajata (kapālapāli)
45. ....ka. . .ghaṇṭākamsatāla chatra
46. ....nise. . .hāṭabhā. . .devopakara
47. ....sampradāyā manvantarāmabhirāmabhi
48. ....bhagavān parameśvarastu. . .
49. ....tayapratyadhikā (ra miṣṭā)
50. ...prasannasobitām

CHAPTER XI

THE VIṢNUKUNDINS

The Viṣṇukuṇḍin is the last of the many minor dynasties that ruled over the destinies of the Āndhra Country since the disappearence of the Sātavāhana. Whilst writers have emphasised the fact that it was contemporary with the Pallavas in the south, the Kaliṅga dynasties of the fifth and the sixth centuries A.D., the Vākātakas, the Maukharis and the Guptas, they do not say that immediately south of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kingdom lay the Kandara kingdom. The chronological scheme adopted here makes the Kandaras the contemporaries of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin-Vākāṭaka matrimonial alliance was perhaps a political one intended as an offset to Kāndara-Pallava matrimonial alliance. The fortunes of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were bound up with the fortunes of the dynasties of the north and their sphere of action lay in the north, especially, in Kalinga. It is with the Maukharis, the Vākātakas and kings of Kaliṅga, that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins waged a series of wars that finally left them exhausted before the flood of Cāḷukyan invasion came upon them.

Of this dynasty we have five records. That this dynasty rose on the ruins of the Vaiṅgeyaka dynasty is made clear by the fact that the Chikkulla plates were issued from Ḷenduḷūra, modern Deṇḍalūru. Peddavēgi, the site of the capital of the Vaiṅgeyakas, is only five miles to the north of Ḷenduḷūra. And in both places there are ruins of a large of Śiva temples and extensive mounds. True some records were issued from other places, Īpūr II from (Ama)rapura, Īpūr I from *vijayaskandhāvāra* Kudāvāḍa. But as both Kuḍāvāḍa and Amarapura are called *vāsaka*, the former also was a temporary residence.

The Rāmatīrtham plates were issued from Puranisaṅgama, a *vāsakā*. Some scholars think that the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were a northern dynasty. They connect Trivara from which Mādhavavarman I took his wife with Tewar in the Central provinces and *Trikūṭa* with *Triraśmi* and *Malaya* with the Western Ghāṭs. They also point to the northern wars of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins as furnishing evidence in the same direction. Amarapura cannot be identified with distant Amroati in the Central provinces. Nor can it be identified with Amarāvatī as even as late as the sixth century the

latter is known as Dhānyakaṭaka—Chezarla Inscription. No one has pitched upon Pallava wars with the Western Cāḷukyas and Ikṣvāku matrimonial connections with the house of Ujjain as evidence of their northern origin. Kielhorn looks upon Vinukoṇda as the survival of the dynastic name[1] and this looks quite probable. Viṣṇukuṇḍin > Viṣṇukoṇḍin > Vinukoṇḍin > Vinukoṇda. *Kuṇḍi* really means 'one who comes from the fire-pit.' But the fact that their family deity was the *S'rīparvatasvāmī*, may go some way to prove their southern or Āndhra origin. But even this piece of evidence should not be pressed too far. Viṣṇukuṇḍin used in the plural is, like Vākāṭaka and Ikṣvāku, a family name. Some writers look upon it as a *gotra* name. They say that the Vākāṭakas with whom the Viṣṇukuṇḍins had matrimonial connections belonged to the Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra.* Viṣṇu also is a recognised *gotra.* But they admit that the Viṣṇukuṇḍin is not to be traced in the *gotra* and *pravara kāṇḍas.* Moreover we have the plural and not the singular.

It is, however, possible to build some history on the name. The kings of the line though devoted to the God at *S'rīparvata* (Mallikārjuna) would, as their family name indicates, have been worshippers of Viṣṇu, and the names borne by these kings also lends support to this view. Not one king in the line among those known till now bears a Śaivite name. One wonders if the *S'rīparvatasvāmi* of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins was a Vaiṣṇavaite deity, otherwise as yet unknown, of the *S'rīparvata* of the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.[2] Current local tradition, it may be noted, associates the hill with the Rāma cycle of stories. Mādhavavarman and Govindavarman, names which occur in the lists, the latter twice, are indications of the Viṣṇu worship in the family, before, if not after, they rose to power, The first king of the line so far known is not called a *S'rīparvatasvāmī-padānudhyāta.* Did the dynasty begin a Vaiṣṇavaite revival? According to Dr. Hultzsch the seal of Īpūr I "is divided by a cross-line into

1. EI, Vol. IV, pp. 194–95; "The name Vishṇukuṇḍin has not, so far as I know, been met with in other epigraphical records. Considering the locality where these plates come from, as well as the facts that the writer's vernacular was Telugu and that, the donor worshipped the lord of *S'rīparvata,* which I take to be the sacred Śrīśaila in the Karnūl district, I believe that the word survives in *Vinukoṇḍa,* the name of a hill-fort and town in the Kistna district, about 60 miles east of Śrīśaila and 50 miles south of the river Kṛishṇā, and that this Vinukoṇḍa, which is reported to be a place of great antiquity, was really the capital of the Vishṇukuṇḍins."

2. See Ch. VII.

two sections. The lower bears in relief the legend *Mādhavavarma* in two lines. Above the line seems to be a figure of Lakshmī or a *Svastika* on a pedestal, flanked by two lamp-stands, and surmounted by the sun (?) and the crescent of the moon"[3] Says Sircar:[4] "As on the seals attached to Chikkulla and the Rāmatīrthām plates. the figure of a lion is clearly visible, it may not be impossible that the obliterated part above the line contained the figure of a lion which was possibly the crest of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins". But the symbol is not the *svastika* as the arms are not equal in length, nor is there any trace of a lion or Lakshmī. It is a symbol much like that found on the coins of the Cuṭus in the Anantapur District. True, the seal of the Chikkulla plates bears in relief on a slightly counter-struck surface a well-executed lion, which stands to the proper right raises the right fore-paw, opens the mouth and apparently has a double tail.[5] The Rāmaātīrtham plates seal "shows the faint figure of an advancing lion or tiger (facing the proper right), with its fore-paw raised, neck erect, mouth wide-open and the tail raised above the back, so as to end in a loop."[6] The lion device was perhaps Buddhist in origin. The lion *motif* at Amarāvatī is sufficient evidence.

Viṣṇukuṇḍin Genealogy

The genealogy of the dynasty was a mess before Sircar came in to point out a patent error made by Dr. Hultzsch and Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao. Identifying Mādhavavarman of Īpūr I with the Mādhavavarmans of Rāmatīrtham and the Chikkulla plates Hultzsch constructed the following genealogy.

Īpūr	Rāmatīrtham	Chikkulla
Govindavarman		
|		
Mādhavavarmān	Mādhavavarman	Mādhavavarman
	|	|
	Vikramendra	Vikramendravarman
	|	|
	Indravarman	Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman
		|
		Vikramendravarman II

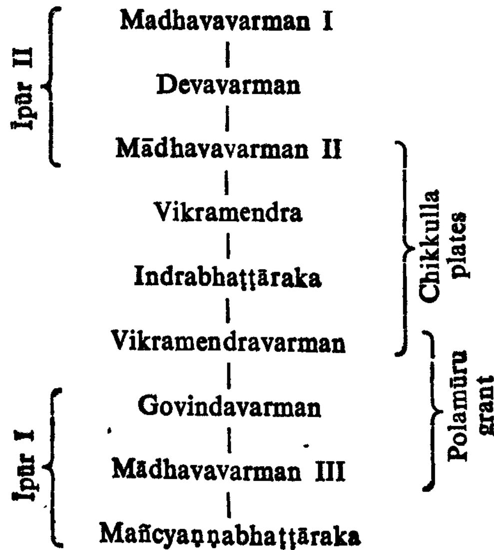
3. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 334.

4. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXVI, p. 113

5. EI, Vol. IV, p. 194.

6. EI, Vol, XII, p. 133.

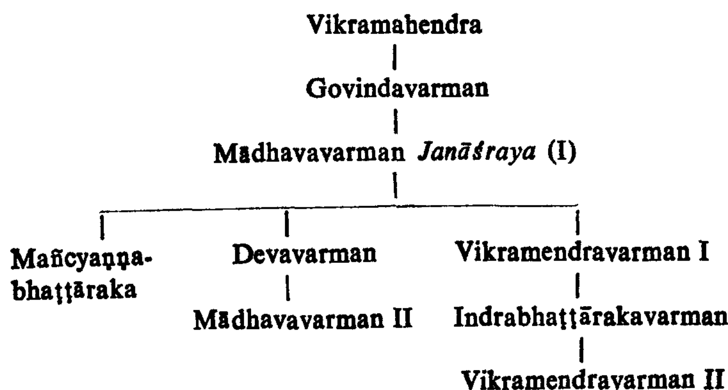
But Hultzsch went wrong in making the Mādhavavarman of Īpūr II the grandfather of Mādhavavarman of the Chikkulla plates, Accepting Hultzsch's view regarding the position Mādhavavarman of Īpūr II in Viṣṇukuṇḍin genealogy, and obsessed by the theory that Mādhavavarman of Polamūru plates whose grant is renewed by the Eastern Cāḷukya king Jayasiṁha I must be late in the series, and also by the theory that succession was in one line, Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao and others have built up a fantastic genealogy.



Hultzch's genealogy is vitiated by one mistake. When he stopped with Īpūr I his genealogy was correct. When he came to Īpūr II he was confronted by the palaeographical difficulty. "The inscription records the grant of a village, the name of which is doubtful, by Mādhavavarman (II) . . . . . .His father was Devavarman (1.5), and his grandfather the Mahārāja Mādhavavarman (I). . . . . .As the alphabet of this inscription seems to be of an earlier type than that of the preceeding one, and as grandsons are frequently named after their grandfather, I consider it not impossible that Mādhavavarman II was the grandfather of Govindavarman's son Mādhavavarman, who would then have to be designated Mādhavavarman III"[7] Hultzsch's theory has been exploded by the Polamūru grant which mentions a Vikramahendra and not Mādhavavarman as the grandfather of Mādhavavarman and father of Govindavarman. As

7. EI, Vol. XVII, p. 338.

Sircar has pointed out, Hultzsch and others have made three Mādhavavarmans out of two. Mādhavavarman of the Chikkulla. Rāmatīrtham and Īpūr I and Polamūru plates is one Mādhavavarman. In the Īpūr I plates he is called *'Trivaranagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛdaya-nandanaḥ,' 'agniṣṭoma sahasra-yāji'* and *'Hiraṇya-garbhaprasūtaḥ,'* and in the Polamūru plates, *' Trivaranāgara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-raitḥ,' 'kratu-sahasra-yājī* and *Hiraṇyagarbhaprasūtaḥ.'* In both he is also called *'ekādaś-Āśva medhāvabhṛta-snāna-vigata-jagad-enaskaḥ'*. (Polamūru) and *'ekādaś-Āśvamedhāvabhṛtha-vidhūta-jagatkalmaṣaḥ'* (Īpūr I). So the Mādhavavarman of rhe Polamūru plates is identical with the Mādhavavarman of Īpūr I. Mādhavavarman of the Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla and Īpūr I plates is identical, as Hultzsch himself had admitted.[8] If Mādhavavarman, father of Devavarman of Īpūr II, is Mādhavavarman *Janāśraya*, son of Govindavarman, the genealogy falls in to the following mould :



Vikramendravarman I would seem to have had another son as Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman is called the eldest son of the former. Mañcyaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka, associated with his father Mādhavavarman as *ājñā* of Īpūr I, dated in the 37th year of Mādhavavarman, would seem to have been the eldest son of the latter.

It now behoves us to remove the palaeographical difficulty. It is highly improbable that Mādhavavarman issued the Īpūr II plates as king. In the plates he is not called a *Mahārāja* or *Rāja*[9]

8. EI, XVII, p. 335. *Contra ibid*, p. 338, See also Sircar *op. cit.* pp. 84–8.

9. In the Chikkulla plates Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman is called *Mahārāja* and in the Rāmatīrtham plates *Rāja*.

In all the other plates of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins the reigining king is called *Rāja* or *Mahārāja*. In Īpūr II Devavarman, the father of Mādhavavarman, is also not known by regal titles. True, in our records the predecessors of the reigning king are sometimes mentioned without regal titles.[10] Devavarman is also known as one who displayed matchless and well-known valour in attacking warriors.[11] It is therefore probable that he fell in battle in one of the ceaseless wars waged by his father. Īpūr II was issued at the command of *Viṣṇukuṇ(ḍ)yadhirāja*.[12] We know from the Godāvarī plates of Pṛthivīmūla that *adhirāja* means overlord. The inscription is dated in the 47th year.[13] We know from the Polamūru plates that Mādhavavarman reigned for forty years.[14]. Such a long reign as forty-seven years for Mādhavavarman, son of Devavarman, is improbable in view of the fact that he was succeeded by his uncle, himself having died childless. It is therefore very probable that the edict was issued by Mādhavavarman the younger, who had been put in charge of the kingdom by his grandfather when the latter was away busy with his wars with Kaliṅga. The Polamūru plates show that in the 40th year of his reign Mādhavavarman *Janāśraya* crossed the Godāvarī with a view to conquer the eastern region. Īpūr I plates cf the 37th year of Mādhavavarman *Janāśraya* record the grant of the village of Vilembali in the district of Guddādi to the Brahman Agniśarman of the Vāsta *gotra*. Īpūr II refers to the two donees Agniśarman and Indraśarman. The words preceding *Agniśarmendra(śarma)bhy(ā)ṁ* are obliterated, and Hultzsch has not read them. One donee seems thus to be common

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10. '*Śrī-Vikramendravarmaṇaḥ*', Chikkulla plates, t. l. 10.
'*Śrī-Vikramahendrasya*', Polamūru plates, l. 4.
'*Śrī-Govindavarmaṇaḥ*', *ibid.*, l. 6.

11. *Kṣatriyāvaskandapravart(t)ita apratimavikh (yā) taparākramasya.*

12. *Viṣṇukuṇ (ḍ) yadhirājadhyānodātta.*

13. The numerical symbols weie read as (4) 7 by Hultzsch. Says he: "The first figure of the year in the date portion of the ... inscription (l. 13), is injured and uncertain" (p. 338). Sircar reads it as 10. But as the upper part of the symbol is clearly the upper part of the symbol for four Hultzsch's conjectural reading is correct

The curves considered by Sircar are merely scratches far below the line.

14. Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao and others read the symbol as 48. But as in Īpūr II even the symbols for 47 are the symbols for 4 and 7, and not one symbol, and as there is not a single instance of the combination of two symbols in one, such a reading has to be abandoned. What is taken as a ligature for 8 is only the flourish of the lower part of the vertical of the symbol for 40,

to both the grants. It would therefore seem that Īpūr II is also dated in the reign Mādhavavarman *Janāśraya* of eleven *Aśvamedhas* fame. In that case Īpūr I is prior to Īpūr II only by ten years. And there are not insuperable palaeographical objections to placing Īpūr II ten years after Īpūr I. Firstly though both the records were found in the possession of Brindāvanam Gopālācharlu at the village of Īpūr in the Tenali Taluq of the Guntur district, they do not seem to have belonged to the same locality. The first set records the grant of the village of Vilembali in the Guddādi *viṣaya*, by the king from his camp at Kuḍāvāḍa. Guddādi *viṣaya* is the Guddavādi *viṣaya* to which Drākṣārāma and Chellūr in the Godāvarī district belonged. The name of the *viṣaya* which contained the second grant is obliterated.

The alphabet of II has those thick dots and that bold writing which characterise the grant of Dāmodaravarman and of some of the kings of Kaliṅga.[15] Hultzsch says that the alphabet of Īpūr II reminds us of the British Museum plates of Cārudevī. But the comparison between the carelessly written Cārudevī grant and this grant is not happy. While speaking of Īpūr I Hultzsch said that "The alphabet is of an earlier southern type than that of the two other published grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family. The secondary forms of *i* and *ī* are not always clearly distinguished; in °*kuṇḍināṁ* — (l. 1) *i* looks like *ī*, and in *bhagavacchrīparvvata* (i. 1), *śrī Govinda* (l. 3), and — *mahī* — (l. 4), *ī* looks like *i*." But in Īpūr II the distinction between *i* and *ī* is clear e. g., *i* in *agniṣṭōma* (l. 2), *priyaputraḥ* (l. 5), and *ī* in *Śrī Devavarmaṇaḥ* and *Śrīparvatasvāmi* (ll. 5 and 6); the *o* sign is as developed as that in I grant-*agniṣṭoma* (l. 2). The tail of Īpūr II *la* is as developed as that of I *la*. Īpūr II *ṣa* is in no way more developed than the Īpūr I *ṣa*. On the other hand *na* of the former has a larger bottom than that of the latter and in this respect it resembles the Maṭṭepāḍ *na*. *Ji* in 1.2 Īpūr II is more developed than *ji* in I 1.7. *Ta* without the loop occurs in I also (1.13). *Pa*-s in both have looped bottoms. II *ta* and *ṇa* resemble the Maṭṭepāḍ ones. No doubt the reascent of the vertical of *ra* and *ka* is not as pronounced in II as in I. But the subscript in *kra* has a better flourish in II than I; e.g., *parākramasya* I, 1.1; II, 1.5. Much of the difference between the two alphabets is due to the fact that Īpūr II alphabet is of an angular and bolder type while the alphabet of I is slanting and small. Moreover the affili-

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15. EI, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff., pp. 2 ff.

ations of the alphabets of II are with the Maṭṭepāḍ grant whilst the alphabet of I is closely related to the grants found in the northern parts (e.g., the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman).

The foregoing arguments, some of them positive and others negative, prove that there are no insuperable difficulties in putting Īpūr II as later than Īpūr I. And the arguments adduced above also show that Īpūr II belongs to the reign to which Īpūr I belongs and that the interval between the two is only ten years. Īpūr II, in other words, is a grant of the grandson dated in the reign of his grandfather.

We may in passing note the patent objections the genealogical scheme built by Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao and others. They have identified the Vikramahendra of the Polamūru plates with the Vikramendravarman II of the Chikkulla plates. It may be pointed out that Vikramahendra of the Polamūru plates is not even as names go the same as the Vikramendra of the Chikkulla grant. Vikramendravarman II's grandfather is also known as Vikramendra. To place the Īpūr and Polamūru grants after the Chikkulla and Rāmatīrtham grants is paleographically impossible. Since two Mādhavavarmans have been made three K. V. Lakshmana Rao wonders why *Aśvamedhas* should have been the monopoly of Mādhavavarmans !

The chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty can now be settled within reasonable limits. While editing the Polamūru plates,[16] Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao pointed out that the grant recorded in these plates was renewed by Jayasiṁha I whose date is known. Both grants were found buried in the same village, one by the side of the other. The Polamūru plates say that when Mādhavavarman had set out on an eastern expedition and crossed the Godāvarī. he made an *agrahāra* of the village of Pulomībūra on the Daḷiyavāyi river and of four *nivartanas* of land at the southern extremity of Mayindavāṭaki, and granted it to Śivaśarman of the Gautama *gotra* resident of Kunṟūra in the Karmarāṣṭra. The grant of Jayasiṁha I who began to rule from 633 A.D., records that in his fifth year (638) he granted the village of Pulomībūra in the Guddavāḍi *viṣaya* to Rudraśarman son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman. In Mādhavavarman's grant it is Śivaśarman son of Dāmaśarman that gets the same village. So it is clear that the Polamūru grant of Mādhavavarman is separated from the grant of

16. *The Jonrnal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XI.

Jayasiṁha by at least one generation. The Polamūru grant of Mādhavavarman is dated in the 40th year of Mādhavavarman. If, as is stated in the grant of Jayasiṁha, Rudraśarman was the owner of the *agrahāra* before he was dispossessed of it, the interval may be greater, say 35 to 45 years. So Mādhavavarman's reign falls between 553-593, the period of Dāmodaravarman and Attivarman (Kandara). The day on which the grant was made was Phalguni Pūrṇimā on which lunar eclipse occurred. And the chronology worked out in this chapter makes 593 a possible date for the Polamūru grant.

Madhavavarman's period is then between 553-593 or more. Vikramendravarman, Indrabhaṭṭārakavarman, Vikramendravarman II might each be assigned a period of 25 years, and the end of the dynasty brought to the latter part of the seventh century A.D., a generation after the advent of the Eastern Cāḷukyas.

ADDITIONAL NOTE TO CHAPTERS III AND IV

In a monograph entitled '*Reconstruction of Andhra Chronology*' in the pages of the *J.A.S.B.*[1] Mr. G. Bose has drawn revolutionary conclusions from equally revolutionary assumptions and interpretations. He has handled the Purāṇic material shrewdly. But his reconstructed chronology breaks down at every step.

To him the Purāṇic evidence is everything and the epigraphic one is utterly futile. The Purāṇic chronological data if properly assessed would give 3101 (Kali)—2700=401 B. C. as the date of Nanda's coronation. The Purāṇas place the end of the Āndhra dynasty 838 years after the advent of the Nandas. The lower limit is therefore 437 A.D. The dynastic total gives us 21 B.C. as the starting point. This is corroborated by the legend that the first Śālivāhana killed Vikramāditya who is supposed by Mr. G. Bose to be the author of the Vikrama Era. A Kaṇhēri inscription[2] and the Girnār inscription prove that Puḷumāvi was the son-in-law of Rudradāman. Puḷumāvi's date is near 150 A. D., Gautamīputra is known from Nāsik records to be his father. As the starting-point is 21 B. C., Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi must be Nos. 6 and 7 in the Purāṇic lists, and not Nos. 23 and 24 as supposed till now, for 21 B.C.+the regnal, years of the first five kings would take us to 74 A.D. and Nos. 6 and 7 reigned for 74 years up to 148 A.D. Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi of the records have been identified so far with Nos. 23 and 24 on the *slender* and often *false* guide of identity of names. 'The name Gautamīputra is not an exclusive one and might be applied in conjunction with siri-Sātakaṇi to more than one Andhra king. It is on such a weak foundation that the whole structure of modern Andhra chronology has been built up.' No. 7 is called Lambodara, but it is a sobriquet and there is nothing against the supposition that his personal name was Puḷumāvi. 'Of course the regnal periods of Lambodara (18 years) and Pulumāvi (24 years) do not tally.' The same is the case with Siri-Yaña[3] who is assigned in the Purāṇas 19 years while the inscriptions show that he reigned for at least 27 years. The Yue-gnai

1. Letters V 1939, No. 1, pp. 1-131.

2. Lüders' *List*, No. 994.

3. Some Purāṇas assign him 29 years.

of Kiapili of 408 A.D. identified by Wilson with Siri-Yaña supports these conclusions. All these Mr. G. Bose calls a four-fold point of contact.

What is claimed to be a four-fold point of contact is really the Purāṇic evidence with other pieces of evidence twisted to fall in line with it. It has been shown in an earlier chapter that Puḷumāvi could not have been the son-in-law of Rudradāman and that the Sātakaṇi of the Girnār record also cannot be the son-in-law of Rudradāman, but a later king.

The early Sātavāhanas do not bear metronymics. Even the Bhilsa inscription of the time of an early Sātakaṇi gives only the metronymic of the *avesaṇi* Ānanda. Kings after No. 22 almost invariably bear metronymics.

Puḷumāvi is a peculiar name and has been given on all the coins and inscriptions of the kings bearing it. Even when the title Navanarasāmi is given[4] the personal name is not omitted. The name Puḷumāvi occurs thrice in the Purāṇic lists. It is hard to believe that the great Gautamīputra is not mentioned in the Purāṇas by his only non-surname while the only Gautamīputra is an insignificant Gautamīputra Viḷivāyakura. Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi are juxtaposed only lower in the list. The Āpīlaka coin, and the coins of Vijaya and Skanda belonging to the Akola hoard, make an attack on Purāṇic names extremely dangerous.

Epigraphic evidence of the weightiest kind shatters Mr. Bose's conclusions. The interval between Gautamīputra and Siri-Yaña of 320 years and that between Puḷumāvi and Siri-Yaña of 265 years are too long. That between Gautamīputra and Kaṇha of 53 years is too short. Fortunately we have at Nāsik a stream of inscriptions belonging to different reigns—of Kaṇha's time, of Hakusiri's grand-daughter, of Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi, and of Siri-Yaña's time. Nāsik palaeography is therefore a weighty and accurate evidence. The inscription of Kaṇha's time[5] with its *da* open to the left, rounded *va*, *ka* with a short vertical, narrow-bottomed *ha*; angular *ta* and short strokes and curves for *u* and *i* signs, is very early in the series. It is more related to the Aśokan inscriptions. Fifty-three years are not sufficient for the development of these early forms into *a*, *ka* and *ra* with long verticals curved ornamen-

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4. Nāsik No. 3, EI, Vol. VIII.

5. No. 2 in the *Purāṇic* lists. EI, Vol. VIII, Pl. VI.

tally at the lower end, *va* with angular bottom and very ornamental *i* and *u* signs.[6] Hakusiri's grand-daughter's inscription, conclusively proves that even two generations after Kaṇha had not changed materially the *da* open to the left and the rounded bottom of *ya* and *pa*; *la* and *ha* and *i* and *u* signs are still primitive. Only *sa*, *ka* and *ra* are slightly developed. The development is so slight and the older forms are so pronounced, that the wonder is not that there is change, but it is so slight. Nāsik Nos. 2 (Puḷumāvi) and 24 (Siri-Yaña) are palaeographically so closely related that we cannot postulate more than a two-generation interval without committing a great error. The treatment of the verticals of *ña*, *ra* and *ka*, and the angular *pa* are the same in both. The close resemblance of the *a*-s *sa*-s, *da*-s, *ha*-s and the *i* signs of the two inscriptions deserve notice. Palaeography though not a safe guide in fixing narrow margins, is a safe and sure criterion in fixing or disproving long intervals, and it will not do to brush it aside as Bose does.

Mr. Bose's scheme makes meaningless Gotamī Balasirī's remark that her son inherited 'from a *long* line of ancestors the privilege of kingly music.' His suggestion that it refers to the predecessors of Simuka as governors under the Kāṇvas is a desperate guess. Therefore the orthodox theory rests on a much securer basis than mere identity of names, on the rock of epigraphic evidence.

Other conclusions of Mr. Bose are that Gautamīputra was the founder of the Śaka era, that Siri-Yaña is the king of the Nāṇeghāṭ record and that Puḷumāvi was a viceroy under his father. To him Balasirī's inscription when considered along with the Purāṇic account and the Śālivahana tradition 'throws unexpected light on the origin of the Śaka era'. Khakharāta is perhaps the Prākṛt form of Śakarāṭ: Tradition points to Śalivāhana the enemy of Vikramāditya as Śakendra, Śakāditya and Śaka. If we suppose a confusion betweeen Nos. 1 and 6, we can look upon the victories recorded in No. 2 as the starting point of an era. Once this theory is admitted 'it will be seen that there is no alternative but to recognise that the Western Satraps, who dated in the Śaka era, were tributaries to the Andhras' and the 'evidence in favour of the Andhra origin of the Śaka era is fairly conclusive.'

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6. Nāsik Nos. 4 and 5, EI. Vol. VIII, Pl. II.

This is the only the revival of an old theory. If the Junnar inscription of Ayama, minister of Nahapāna, is dated in the Śaka era we are led to the absurd suggestion that Nahapāna died long before 78+46=124 A.D., (that is in 78 A.D., the year of hostilities between Gautamīputra and Nahapāna as worked out by Mr. Bose), but that a person called himself his minister even long after his death. In Western Kṣatrapa inscriptions the words are *vasa* or *varṣa* and the name of the month, whereas in the Sātavāhana inscriptions they are *savachara* and *pakha*, It is also curious that an era started by Gautamīputra is not used either by himself or what is more important by his son and successors. Would the Western Kṣatrapas have continued with religious fervour to use on their coins and in their inscriptions an era which started with their defeat—a constant reminder of their fall and chains? And that too, long after the Sātavāhana glories had passed away like a forgotten dream? Mr. Bose's theory narrows down to nothing the interval between the Prākṛt records of Nahapāna's line (years 45 and 46) and the Sanskrit record of year 52. It is all the more significant that the daughter of Rudradāman and a Sātavāhana queen uses Sanskrit. The more plausible suggestion is that it started with a revival of Śaka power after the crushing blow it had received at the hands of Gautamīputra. In cognate records *kha* is the Prākṛtic form for *kṣa* or *ṣa* or *sa* in Sanskrit, e.g. Khandapālitā, Khatiya. The question of the Śaka era is a knotty one, but Mr. Bose's conjecture based on his interpretation of tradition will certainly not fit into known historical facts.

The Girnār record says that Rudradāman was the lord (*pati*) of Ākara, Avanti, Anūpa, Ānarta, Surāṣṭra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kaccha, Kukura, Aparāṁta, etc. In No. 2 Kukura, Suraṭha, Aparāṁta, Anūpa, Ākara and Avanti of which Gautamīputra was the lord (*rājā*) are mentioned just before *Saka-Yavana-Pahlava nisūdanasa* and *Khakharātavasa niravasesa karasa.* These leave no doubt about the contest between the two powers and all theory of the appointment of Rudradāman and Caṣṭana by Gautamīputra is shattered by the words 'and other territories gained by his own valour'.[7]

The view that Uṣavadāta was governor under Gautamīputra is blasted by the Nāsik and Kārlā records. The mention of the Veja-

7. Girnār inscription, t. l. 11.

yantī army, the non-mention of the purchase from Uṣavadāta of the land granted, though he is mentioned as the previous owner of the land[8] and the official nature of the records[9] make the theory of conquest, transfer and utter destruction of Khakharāta power doubly certain. The Kārlā inscriptions Nos. 13 and 19 record the grant of the same village of Karajaka by Uṣavadāta and a Sātavāhana king, almost certainly Gautamīputra, and the entry of it in the state archives. What else can this signify except a change of government?

The author's remarks about Siri-Yaña are the most startling. He looks upon Gautamīputra Śrī-Yajña as the restriker of Nahapāna's coins long after they were issued.[10] The comparison with the Viḷivāyakura practice is unhappy as in the latter case no conquest is involved. If his theory is correct, we should find the personal name 'Yaña' which we find invariably on his numerous coins and his inscriptions. On the restruck coins, on the other hand, we have only *Gotamiputasa Siri-Sātakaṇisa.*

The Nāṇeghāṭ record is ascribed to Siri-Yaña.[11] The argument is as follows: the names Satisiri (which he Sanskritizes as Śuktaśrī on the supposition that Prakṛtic form is a corruption) and Vedisiri of the princess of the Nāṇeghāṭ record are in conformity with the name Siri-Yaña; the worn out name of the king in the inscription ends with 'siri,' wherefore it must be Yañasiri. Vedic rites in the place of Buddhistic ceremonies were likely to have been inaugurated by the royal personages on the re-establishment on the throne of the Sātavāhana sub-clan, which occurred at the time of Siri-Yaña. The placing of the *relievo* figure of Śiśuka, the first Satavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, along with those of the other members of Siri-Yaña's family was to emphasize the fact that the Satavāhana sub-clan was re-established; Vedasiri is to be identified with Cada Sāti read as Vada Sāti on coins, and Vada Sāti or Cada Sāti is next to Siri-Yaña in the Purāṇic lists. The conservatism of State engravers as also the presence of other inscriptions near at hand, which served as epigraphic models to them, would explain the *old* form of the

8. Nāsik, No. 4.

9. *Ibid.*, Nos. 4, 10 and 12

10. P. 111 §. 191.

11. P. 111, §. 190.

Nāṇeghāṭ script'[12] (*italics* mine). The author of the remark that mere names are false guides in identifications hangs all his conclusions on the slender name Yaña, which could have been borne by any king as sacrifices were not the monopoly of one king. 'Sati' is a variant of 'Sata' which is a contraction for Sātakaṇi.[13] If every Vedisiri must be the son of Siri-Yaña then all Skanda Sātakaṇis must be looked upon as sons of Puraṇic Sivasiri. On Siri-Yaña's coins and inscriptions 'siri' is only a prefix. It is only the Purāṇas which give Yajñaśrī. 'Siri' as a name ending does not occur in any of the later inscriptions and coins or in the so-called early inscriptions of Gautamīputra and Puḷumāvi. If Vedic rites were performed by one who revived the glories of the dynasty, there is greater reason to believe that an early member of the dynasty performed them to announce and assert the new glories. The author has obviously misunderstood the purport of the Nāsik and Kārlā grants. They do not show Buddhist leanings of the kings, but were mere political acts intended to win the support of or at least reconcile the Buddhist monks to the new regime. The inscription of Caḍa Sāti disposes of any attempt to read the name as Vada Sāti which again cannot be equated with Vedisiri. The identification of the 29th king with Vedisiri is more than fantastic. The utter flouting of palaeographic evidence is thoroughly unscientific. Wherefrom Bose gets his idea of the conservatism of state engravers of our period, we do not know. There are no other inscriptions at Nāṇeghāṭ to serve as models other than the long sacrificial record and the *relievo* inscriptions. The Nāṇeghāṭ record of a later king Catarapana Sātakaṇi shows later forms only.[14] It is a far cry from the Nāṇeghāṭ script which is a little more developed than the Aśokan to the Siri-Yaña alphabets which are as developed as those of the Ikṣvākus.

It remains to speak of the theory of viceroyalty of Puḷumāvi of Nasik, Nos. 2 and 3 under Gautamīputra. "The epithets and titles (in Nāsik No. 2) leave *no room for the doubt* that Gautamīputra was the paramount lord and Vāsiṣṭhīputra had a subordinate position. Under these circumstances one would naturally expect the inscription to be dated in the regnal years of the paramount

12. P. 107, §. 181.

13. EI, Vol. XVI.

14. JBBRAS, Vol. XIII.

king but it is not so. The most *plausible* explanation is that Balaśrī had been living with her grandson who was a provincial ruler under his father." It is Bhandarkar's theory of conjoint rule walking in new clothes. The expressions, *pitupatiyo* applied to father and *mahādevīya ayakāya sevakāmo piyakāmo ca*, leaves no doubt that the grand-mother was living and the father was not when the inscription was incised. Nāsik No. 3 is issued in the same way as No. 4.[15] Navanarasāmi reminds us of Benākaṭakasāmi. The *amaca* at Govadhana is addressed in both; both have the prefix *siri*; in both the regnal years of the kings concerned are given. In what way No. 3 can be construed to be the order of a Viceroy and the other that of a King of Kings one fails to understand. Moreover, if Govadhana was in Puḷumāvi's province one would expect Gautamīputra in No. 4 to issue the order through Puḷumāvi. The regnal years of Puḷumāvi given in Nos. 2 and 3 are enough to shatter Mr. Bose's theory though he glosses over this fact. In all cognate records the year of the reigning king is given. The epithets lavished upon Gautamīputra are explained by the motherly feelings towards the dead son and by his grand exploits ('the funeral oration of a disconsolate mother'). Nothing can be made out of *rāja* applied to Puḷumāvi and *rājarāja* applied to his father as both are called *mahārājas* towards the end. Moreover Puḷumāvi is also styled [*Dakhiṇa*] *pathesaro*, a title which is not viceregal.[16] Gautamīputra is also called *rāja* in Nos. 4 and 5.

One minor conclusion may also be studied. Nāsik No. 5 is said to be a joint order of Gautamīputra and his queen Jīvasutā. As according to Indian custom as long as the mother-in-law is living the daughter-in-law would not find any prominent mention anywhere, Gotamī Balasirī must have died between 97 and 100 A.D.

Since No. 2 is the record of Puḷumāvi's reign Gotamī Balasiri outlived her glorious son. The theory of the viceroyalty of Puḷumāvi having been disproved, how can the so-called Jīvasutā call herself *rājamatā*; as Puḷumāvi is a Vāsiṭhīputa one would expect to find the *gotra* name of the queen. To Mr. Bose the translation 'one whose son is living' is absurd, because it is a joint-order of Gautamīputra and a *mahadevi*. But the association of a lady in the government

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15. EI, Vol. VIII.

16. According to Senart *Dakhiṇa* is 'a conjecture although more than a probable one'. Between the two creases there are traces of a letter. It cannot however be read as *da* though it is tempting to do so.

shows the failing health or more prabably the illness of the king and under such circumstances, 'kings's mother whose son is living' is neither absurd nor superfluous. Nāsik No. 2 speaks of him as *aviparamātu susūsaka.*[17]

Mr. G. Bose's manograph in short contains nothing new, and must be considered unsatisfactory in every way as an attempt to reinterpret the familiar data.

17. T. 1. 4.

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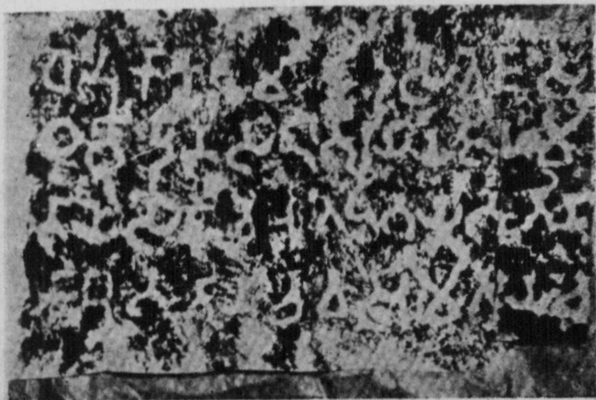
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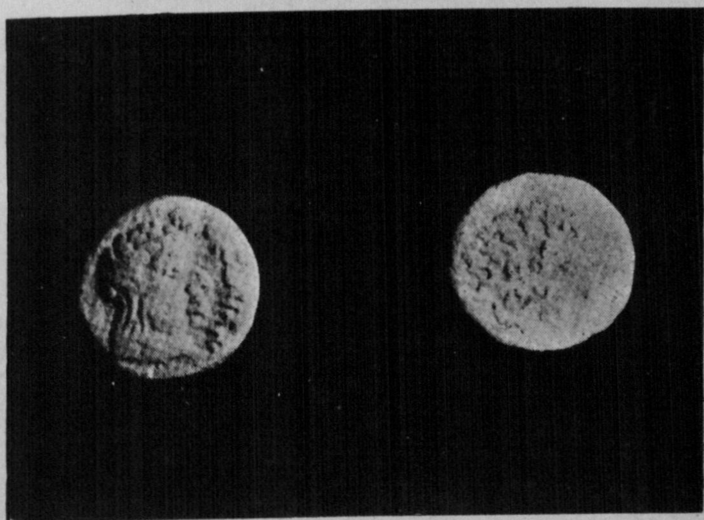
ILLUSTRATIONS

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PLATE I

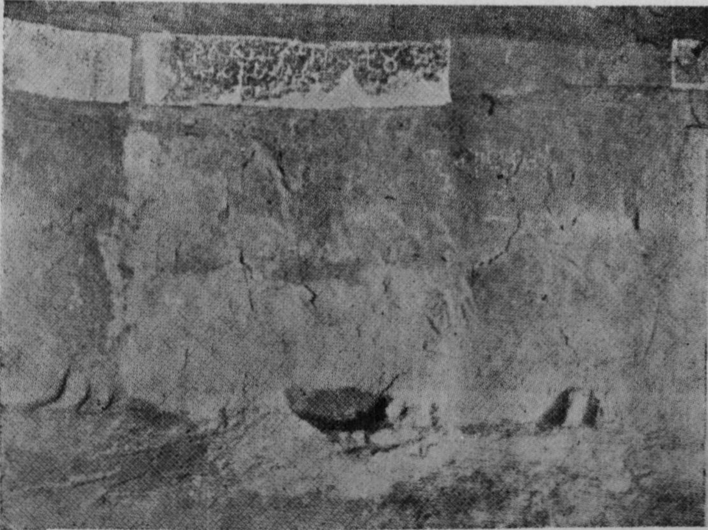


(1) A new inscription from the Caitya Cave—Kārlā

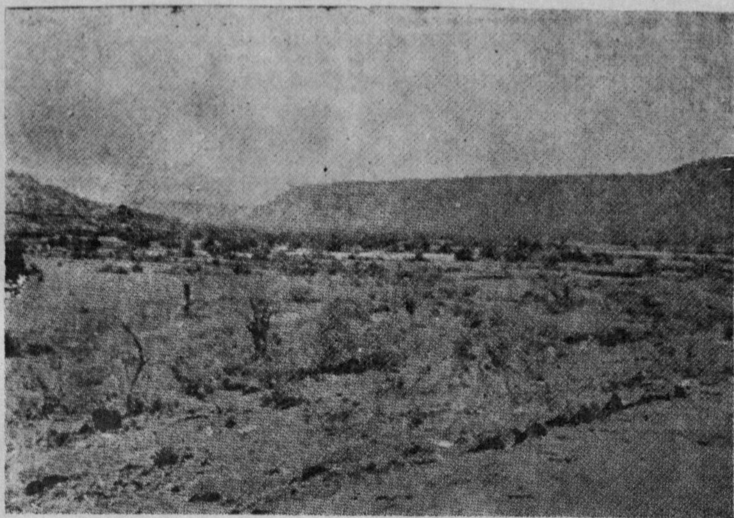


(2) A silver coin of Vāsithiputa Siri-Sātakani—enlarged 2½ times.

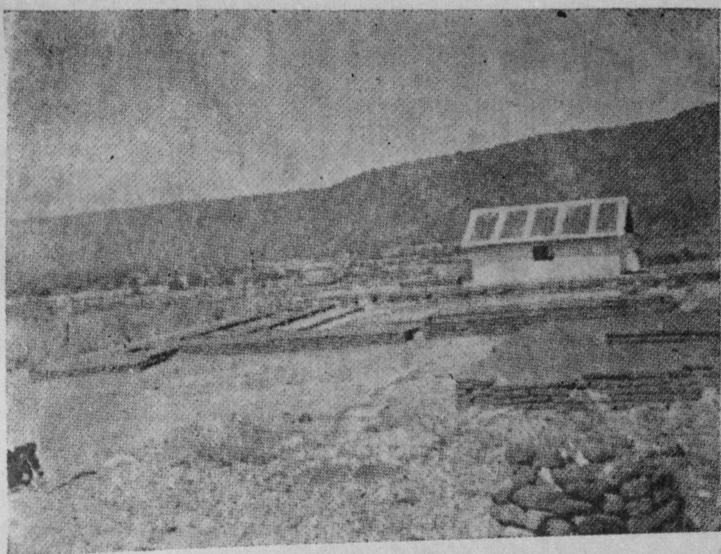
PLATE II



Remains of the *relievo* figures and the inscriptions above them
—Nāneghāṭ cave.



(1) Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Valley



(2) Remains of the *vihara* on the Nāharāḷḷabōḍu mound



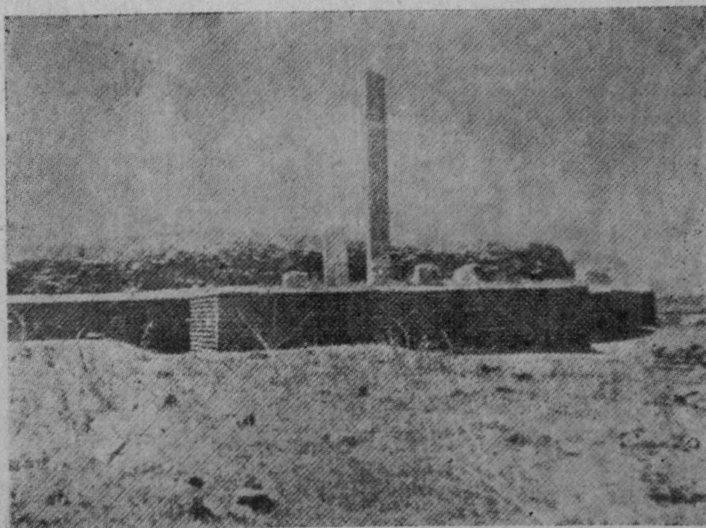
(1) Remains of the *maṇḍapa* east of the *Mahācaitya* founded in the fifteenth year of Vīrapurisadāta.



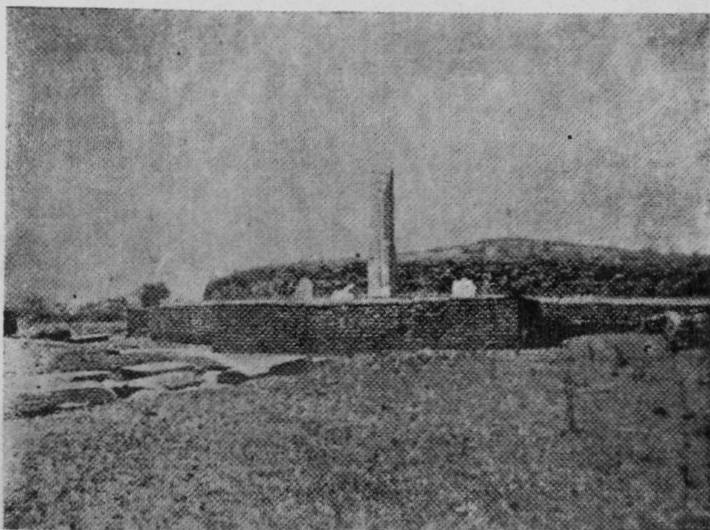
(2) A coin of Siva Siri-Āpīlaka



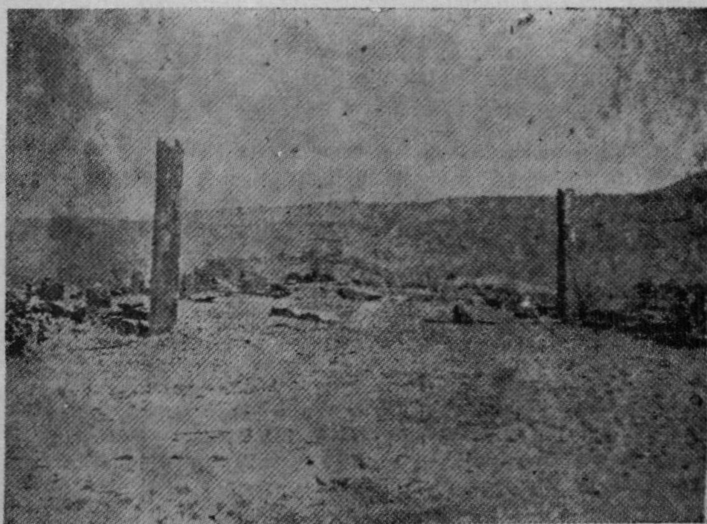
(1) Monastery on a mound (Great Dhammagiri) to the N.W. of Nāharāḷḷābōḍu



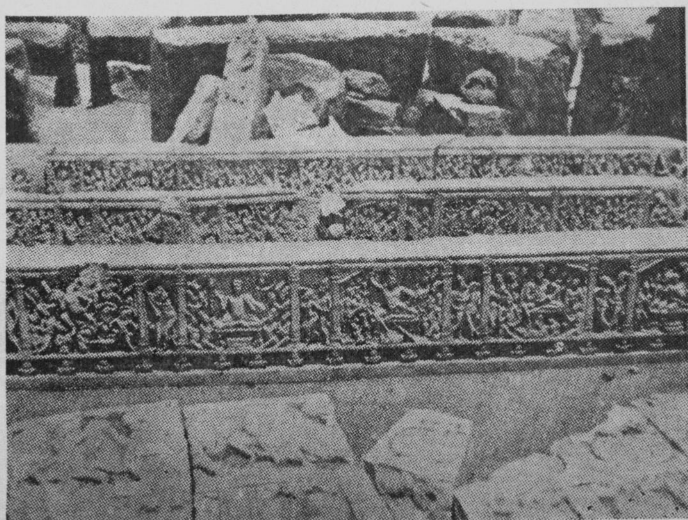
(2) The *Mahācetiya*—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



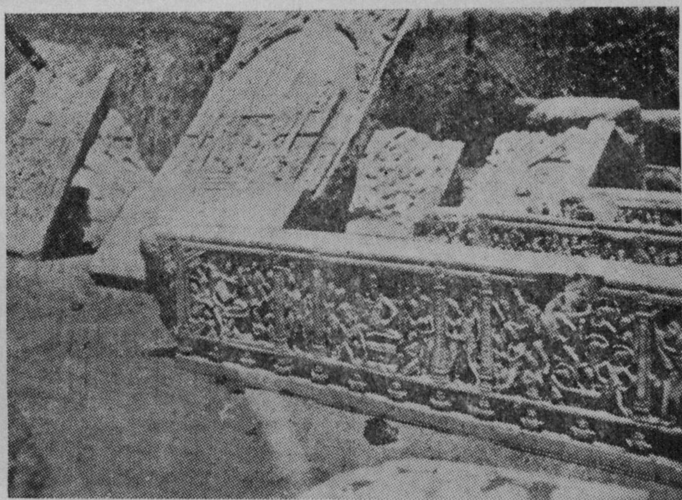
(3) The *Mahācetya*—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



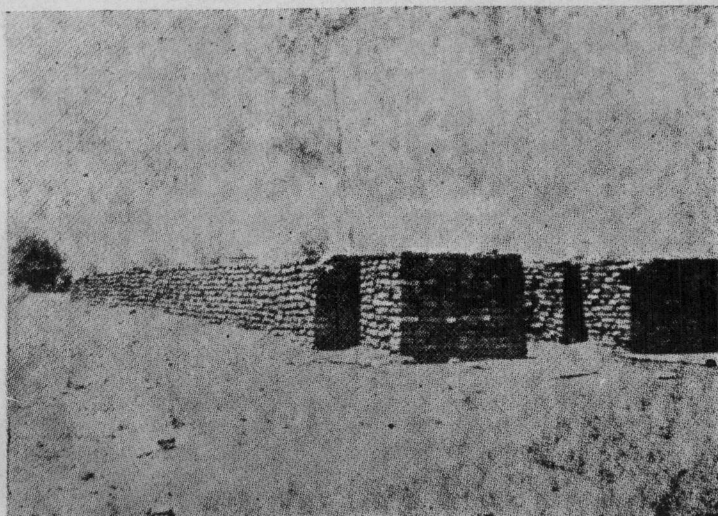
(4) Another view of the monastery on the mound N.W. of Nāhārāḷḷabōḍu.



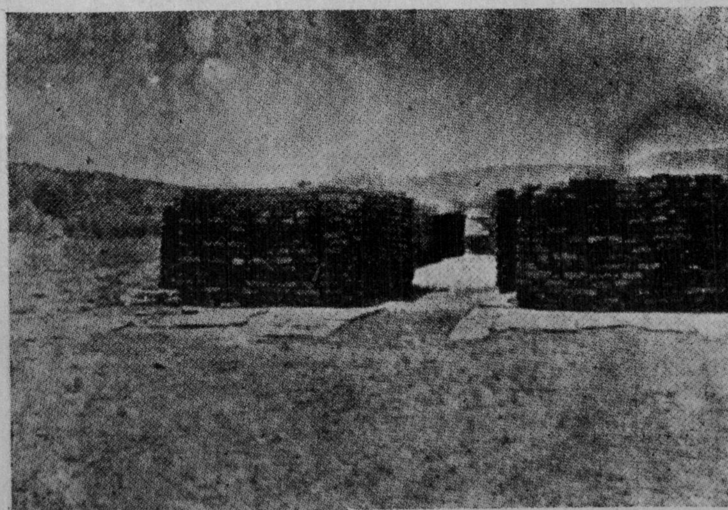
(1) Sculptured beams from Stupa No. 6—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



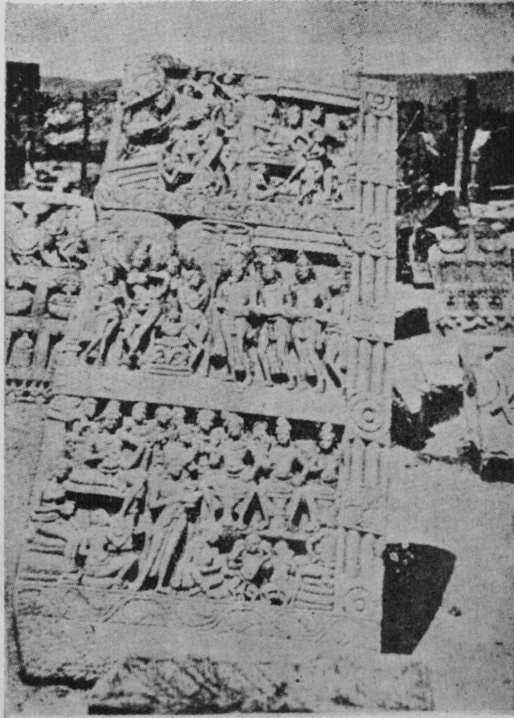
(2) Sculptured beams from Stūpa No 6—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



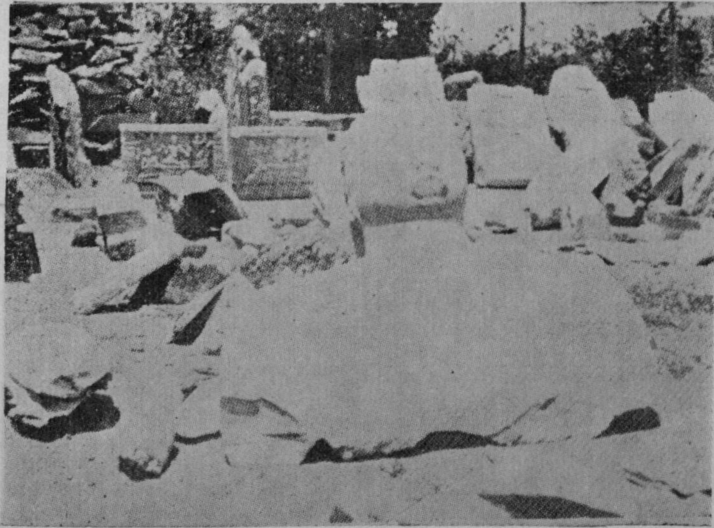
(3) Apsidal temple by the side of the *Mahaceliya*
—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



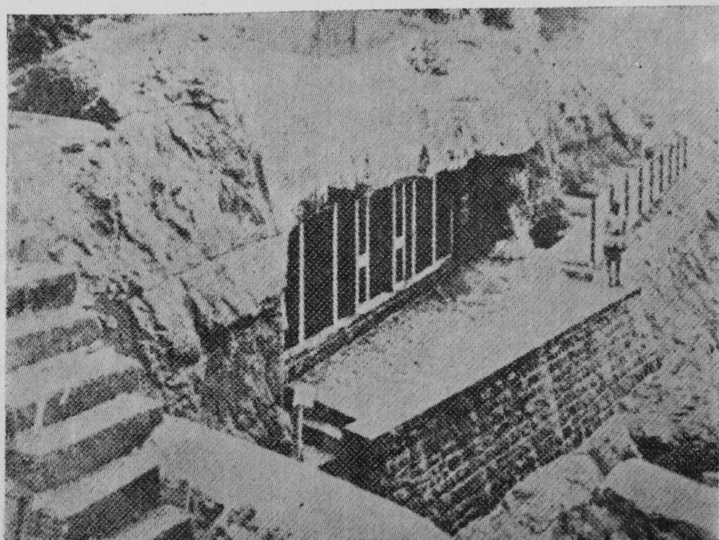
(4) Another view of same



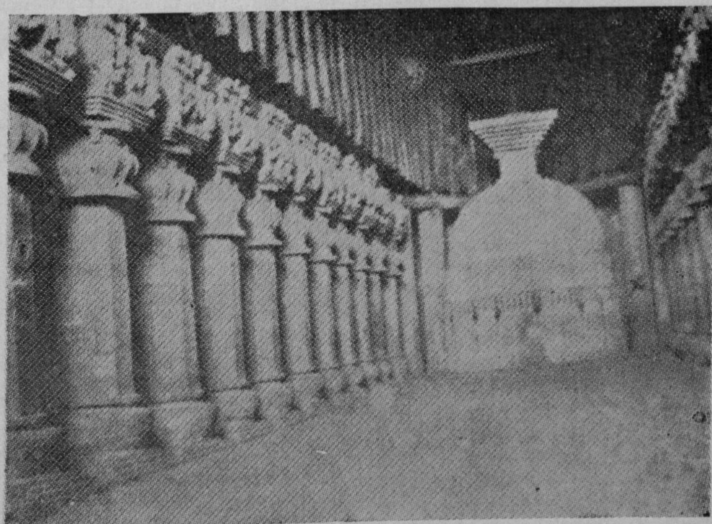
Sṭūpa slabs from *Sṭūpā* No. 6—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



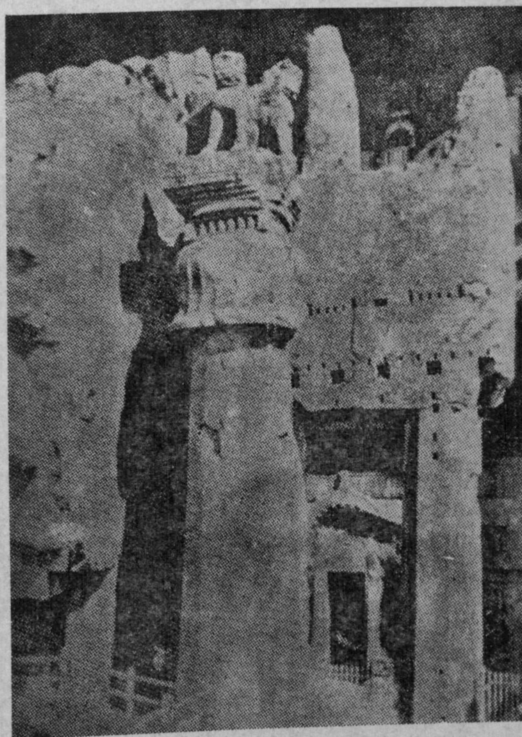
Fragment of a statue of the Buddha—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.



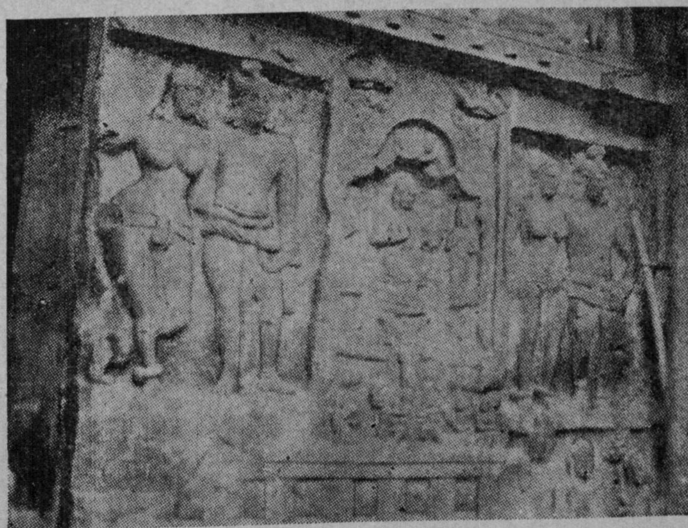
(1) The Nāneghāṭ cave in which the long sacrificial inscription is incised.



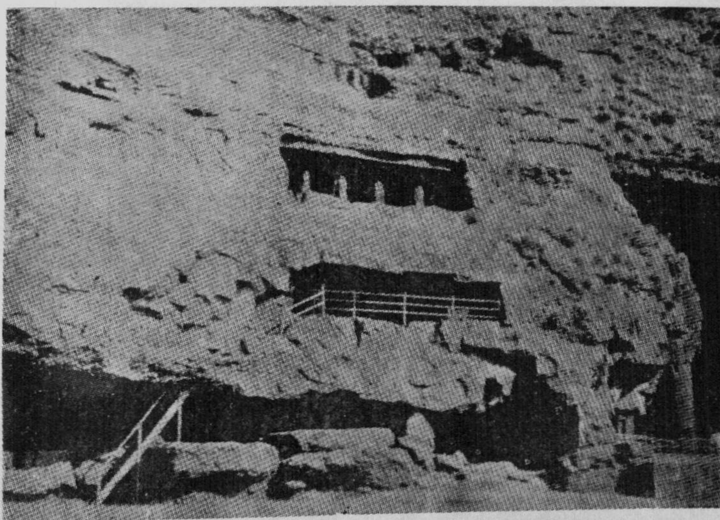
(2) Kārle Cetiya Cave : X marks the new inscription.



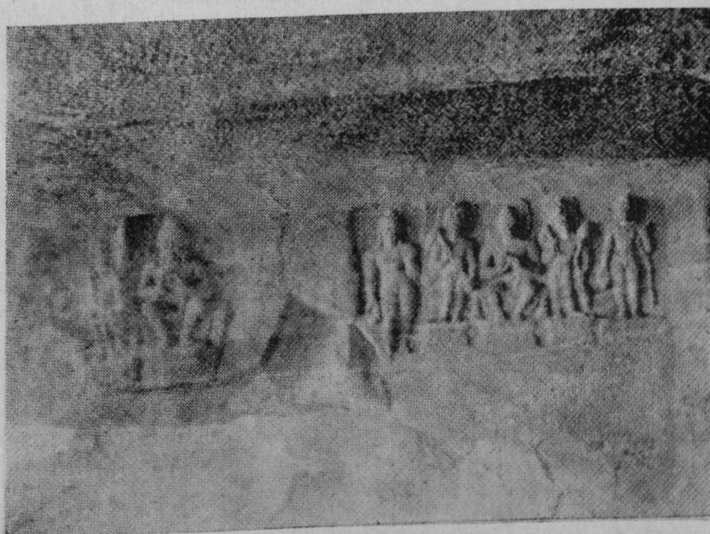
(1) Sculptures at the entrance to the Cetiya Cave—Kārlā.



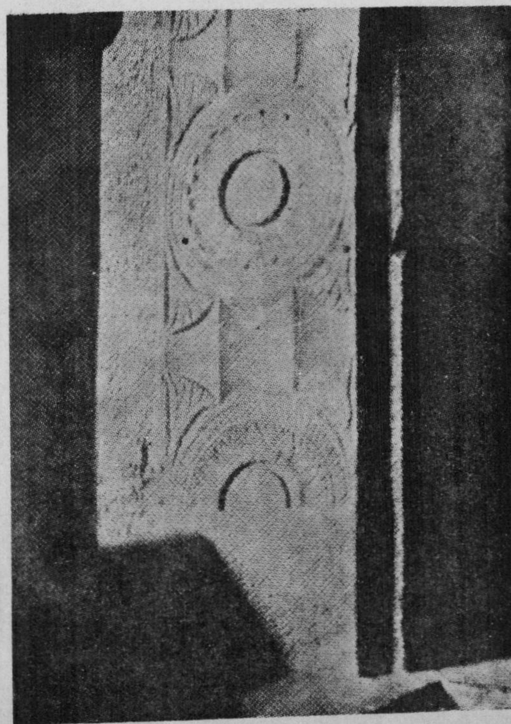
(2) Siṁhastambha—Kārlā Cetiya Cave.



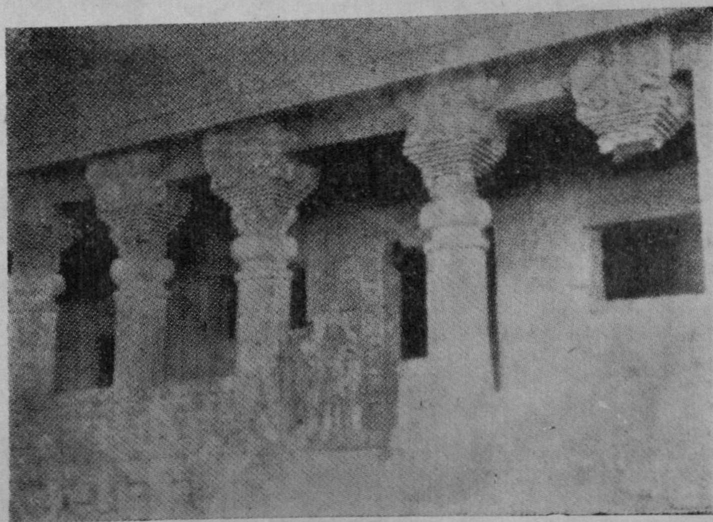
(1) Three-storeyed vihāra—Kārlā



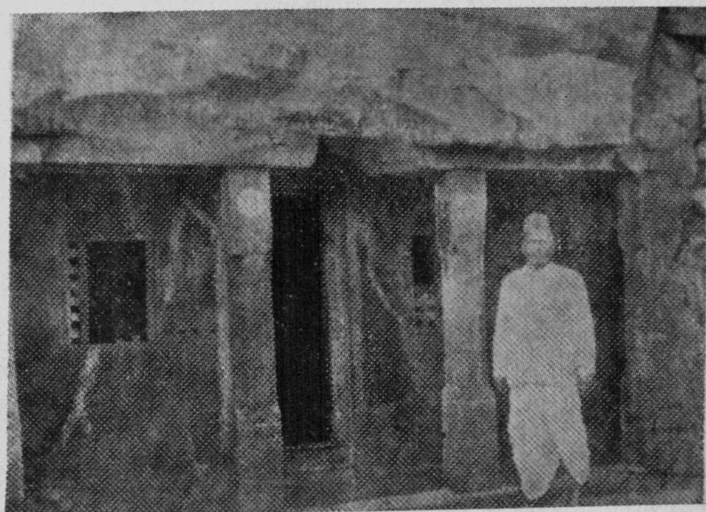
(2) Mahāyānist sculptures in cave No. 24—Nāsik



(1) Medals and medallions on a pillar in the Queen's Cave—Nāsik.



(2) Queen's Cave—Nāsik.



(1) Cave of the time of Kanha Sātavāhana-Nāsik.



(2) Cetiya Cave—Nāsik.